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ABSTRACT

The following are included in section 1: "Purposes and Methods of Sistematizacion" (Beder); "At the Crossroads" (Bingman, White); "Relationship between Literacy and Numeracy Test Scores on the 'Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities'" (Blunt); "Vaclav Havel, Postmodernism, and Modernity" (Briton, Plumb); "Centrality of Negotiating Interests in Adult Education Program Planning Practice" (Cervero, Wilson); "Restructuring of Meaning" (Clark); "Community Building Process" (Counter); "Cost-Recovery" (Cruikshank); "Adult Learning in a Recreational Setting" (Dale, Conti); "Women's Perceptions of the Value of Vocational Training Programs" (Davis et al.); "Types of ABE/GED (Adult Basic Education/General Educational Development) Students by Outcome of Enrollment" (Dirkx, Jha); "Relation of Gender Differences to Adult Religious Development" (Farcasin); "Adult Education and Social Change" (Farr et al.); "Assessment of Instructional Styles in Postsecondary Proprietary Schools" (Girondi, Galbraith); "Developing a Comprehensive View of Work and Education" (Hart); "Toward New Perspectives on Women in Adult Education" (Hayes); "Learning Strategies Used in Real Life and Achievement of Adult Native American Tribal College Students" (Hill et al.); "Impact of Social Structural Factors on the Expansion of Adult Literacy Programs" (Huang); "Completion and Noncontinuation in Adult Basic Education" (Jha, Dirkx); "Conceptual Model for Group Learning" (Kasl et al.); "Adult Undergraduate Students" (Kasworm); "Study of the Relationship between Margin in Life and Academic Achievement" (Knepper, Sisco); "Engels, Marx, and Radical Adult Education" (Law); "Challenging Some Myths about Self-Directed Learning Research" (Long); "Forgotten Leaders of African American Adult Education" (Mitchell, Quigley); "Urban Women and Agricultural Extension" (Mlozi); "Toward a Conceptualization of the History of Adult Education for African Americans" (Morton); "Professionalization and the Mid-Century Shift in Epistemology" (Podeschi); "Five Conceptions of Teaching" (Pratt); "Resistance, Reluctance, and Persistence" (Quigley); "African-American Strategies of Successful Adaptation in Response to Diseducation" (Shaw); "Chinese Ways of Thinking about Knowledge" (Shen); "Connecting Workers' Education to the Working-Class" (Shied); "Adult Education Research" (Stalker); "Adult Education's Marginal Difference" (Steele); "'Pragmatism' and Its Consequences for Adult Education" (Stein); "Back to Pedagogy" (Van Gent); "Women's Voices, Women's Lives" (Walker); "Science and the Professionalization of American Adult Education, 1934-1989" (Wilson); "Predicting Participation in Continuing Education" (Yang, Blunt); and "Education for What? (Zacharakis-Jutz). The remaining four sections cover: (1) visual presentation; (2) five symposia; (3) five papers from an international graduate student pre-conference (appendix 1); and (4) "The Saskatchewan Resolution" (appendix 2). (MN)

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33rd Annual
Adult Education
Research Conference
AERC 1992

Proceedings

Revised Edition (October 1992)

Edited by
Adrian Blunt

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May 15-17, 1992
University of Saskatchewan
College of Education
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada

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May 15-17, 1992
University of Saskatchewan
College of Education
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada

REVISED EDITION

The revised edition of the AERC '92 Proceedings differs from the original version in four respects: 1) a paper presented by Margaret A. Shaw, NIU, which arrived too late for inclusion in the original Proceedings has been inserted into the revised edition; 2) five papers presented at the International Graduate Student pre-conference have been included as Appendix I; 3) a resolution approved by the AERC '92 attendees, regarding the book by John M. Peters, Peter Jarvis and Associates (Eds.) Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field of Study. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991, is included as Appendix II; and 4) some typographical and reference errors were corrected.

Adrian Blunt
October 1992

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Dear AERC participants:

On behalf of the Steering Committee, it is our pleasure to extend a very warm welcome to the 33rd Annual Adult Education Research Conference.

Since its inception in Madison, AERC has established itself firmly as an eminent adult education research conference. AERC has an international reputation as a venue in which established and beginning researchers present research papers which are consistently of a high standard. These papers do more than mirror the concerns in the field. Increasingly, they introduce new research paradigms, methodologies and topics. As such, they not only make a significant contribution to our knowledge base, but they also give invaluable insights into the future directions of research and practice in the field.

Traditionally, AERC has blended these academic and rigorous discourses with warmth and collegiality. Our hope is that this most important of traditions continues and that you find this conference both professionally and personally rewarding.

Finally, we would like to take this opportunity to thank Adrian Blunt and the members of the Local Arrangements Committee for their conscientious work in preparing this conference.

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Department of Adult Education
Penn State
Monroeville, PA, USA

Joyce Stalker (Co-chair)
School of Education
University of Walkato
Hamilton, New Zealand

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Annie Brooks		The University of Texas
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NOMINATIONS SOUGHT FOR THE IMOGENE OKES AWARD

Sponsored by the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE), the purpose of the Okes award is to recognize the work of persons whose research contributes significantly to the advancement of adult and continuing education. It is given in honor of the late Imogene Okes, whose research reports were widely used and quoted in the field, and is an indicator of the quality of research desired from the field and profession. The work should: be based on a topic that has significant implications for the field, build on and expand the knowledge on which the field is based, use appropriate research methodology, and embody excellence consistent with the best traditions of adult education research.

Descriptive guidelines and criteria are available upon request. To nominate a publication, send five copies of a nominating letter describing how the publication complies with the guidelines to: Hal Beder, Rutgers University, Graduate School of Education, 10 Seminary Place, New Brunswick, NJ, 08903.
THE DEADLINE FOR NOMINATIONS IS JULY 3, 1992.

THE CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION (CJSAE)

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education is published by the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE). The journal is committed to the dissemination of knowledge derived from disciplined inquiry in the field of adult and continuing education. It is a refereed journal, subject to the canons of review which determine the quality of the papers to be included for publication.

Manuscripts of the following types are invited from adult education researchers:

- Analytic examinations of adult education issues
- Reports of empirical research
- Theoretical formulations
- Comparative studies
- Historical studies
- New approaches to qualitative and quantitative research.

Articles should conform to the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA) or to The Chicago Manual of Style and ought not to exceed 30 pages of double spaced transcript. Three copies must be submitted. Articles will be published in the language (English or French) in which they are submitted. An abstract of approximately 200 words is required.

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THE PURPOSES AND METHODS OF SISTEMATIZACION

Hal Beder,
Rutgers University

This paper presents and discusses two models of sistematizacion as the means of describing sistematizacion's essential characteristics. Sistematizacion is a program planning strategy that supports popular education in Latin America.

This paper presents a descriptive analysis of the goals and methods of sistematizacion. Data in the form of recorded interviews, documents, observations and video records were collected in the summer of 1991 during a two-week series of site visits in Mexico City, Xalapa, and Veracruz Mexico. The research was sponsored under a grant from the International Council for Adult Education's Transformative Research Network in conjunction with Centro Latinoamericano de Apoyo al Saber y la Educacion Popular (CLASEP) . Located in Mexico City, CLASEP coordinates popular education planning activities throughout Mexico.

Background

In recent years, popular educators in Latin America have become increasingly concerned with developing and recording systematic knowledge about their practice to support program improvement and the dissemination of successful practices. As Cadena (1991) notes, in response to this concern a series of methods and procedures known as sistematizacion have evolved. Sistematizacion supports and is derived from the concept of praxis, the ongoing dialectic between knowledge production and practice in which theory and knowledge support practice and practice informs knowledge and theory production. Research in this context is both reflective and contextualized.

As with all research, sistematizacion is based on the systematic collection of data. However, the basic questions which guide sistematizacion differ from traditional academic research.

For sistematizacion there are two fundamental questions: 1) what has our experience been, and 2) based on an informed understanding of experience, how can we improve practice? Thus the objective of data collection is to "recapture" experience and the objective of analysis is to improve practice through critical reflection on experience.

Following the principles of popular education, program participants are involved in and "own" all stages of the sistematizacion process. The methods of sistematizacion are eclectic and are chosen for their ability to help participants recapture their experience rather than for their epistemological purity. Thus both indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge are valued. Values, attitudes and meanings are considered to be valid dimensions of reality rather than sources of bias and distortion.

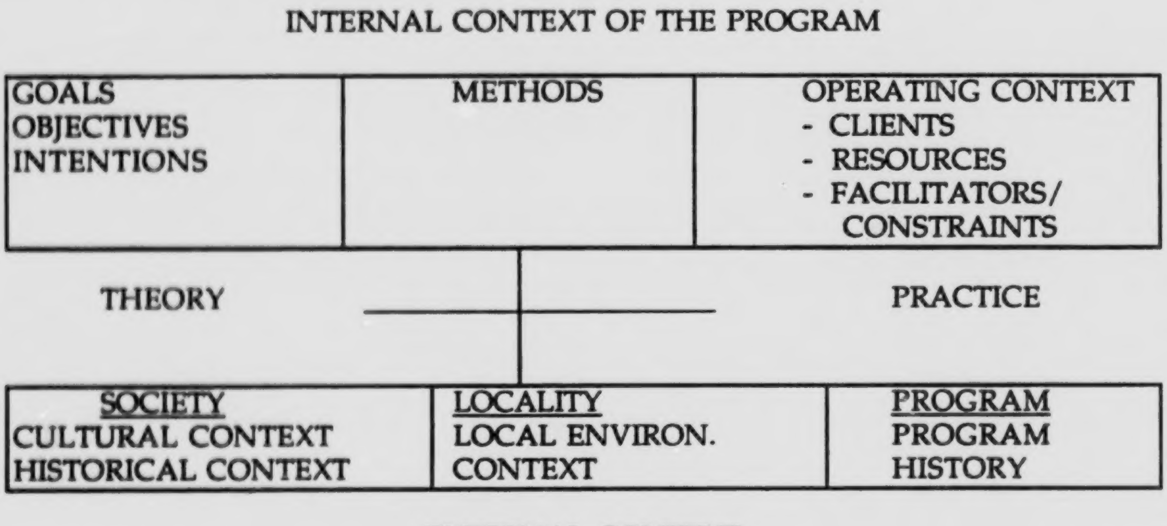
Two Models

During the course of my research in Mexico, I focused on two groups of practitioners of sistematizacion. The first was comprised of popular educators who worked with and for CLASEP. With this group I collected data from two projects. One was being conducted with a labor union; the other with a popular drama troupe. The second group was a husband and wife team, Libertad Hernandez and Luis Grabarron, who were employed by the University of Veracruz in Xalapa. Libertad is an anthropologist by training; Luis is a psychotherapist. While the CLASEP team identify primarily with popular education, Libertad and Luis consider participatory research to be their basic orientation. With Libertad and Luis I visited a project dealing with ninos de la calle (children of the street) and a popular education project for mujeres (women).

Given their differences in orientation and background, the two groups employed slightly different models of sistematizacion. A comparison between the commonalities and differences between the two models provides the analytical method for this paper.

CLASEP Model

Figure 1: CLASEP Model of Sistematizacion[1]


INTERNAL CONTEXT OF THE PROGRAM
GOALS
OBJECTIVES
INTENTIONS
METHODS
OPERATING CONTEXT
- CLIENTS
- RESOURCES
- FACILITATORS/ CONSTRAINTS
THEORY
PRACTICE
SOCIETY
CULTURAL CONTEXT
HISTORICAL CONTEXT
LOCALITY
LOCAL ENVIRON. CONTEXT
PROGRAM
PROGRAM HISTORY
EXTERNAL CONTEXT

According to this model, the sistematizacion process begins with a detailed description of the context in which the program operates. Context has both internal and external dimensions. In respect to the internal dimension, program planners clarify the goals of the project, describe methods and techniques, identify clients served, review funding and finances, and identify internal factors which facilitate and impede their success. In short, they review the basic inputs, processes, and outcomes of the project. The delimitation of the internal context takes place in historical perspective. Participants reflect on why things are the way they are and on how the project developed in response to the contingencies presented by the internal context.

At the same time, the external context of the project is considered. Participants explore how project goals and methods are shaped by and are compatible with history and culture at the societal, local and program levels.

The net result a highly detailed description of program experience and essential program components. Participants then critically reflect on these data to achieve a critical understanding of causation.

Once participants have achieved a critical understanding of their experience and the forces that have shaped it – a process that results in their operational "theory" – they critically reflect on current practice. This results in praxis, strategies for action in which theory based on systematic data collection guides practice, and program experience guides the development of theory. Practice thus becomes grounded in reality, systematic, and strategic in orientation.

Hernandez/Grabarron Model

Figure 2: Hernandez/Grabarron Model[2]

Theory
Practice ________ Reflection
New Practice

In this model, the participants in a program begin by reflecting on their experience with the program. Through this process they clarify goals, assess how the program was shaped by the context in which it operates and identify reasons for successes and failures. There are three components of the reflection process: information, verbalization, and dialogue. In the information component, relevant data are collected through participatory research. In the verbalization component participants discuss the information collected and weigh the evidence. In the dialogue component, participants collectively discuss the meaning of the data and reach consensus on conclusions.

The reflexive process results in a contextualized theory of practice. Based on this theory, participants then develop strategies for improving practice, which when translated into action, result in new practice. The process is on-going; it becomes part of practice itself.

The model is exemplified in a popular education project for women. Initially the women had identified health as being a major issue. In reflecting on the problem, they concluded that the prohibitory expense of medicine and poor nutrition were major components. In the information collection phase, they learned that it was possible to make their own medicine from indigenous plants. Subsequently they learned what plants had medicinal qualities, how to grow and collect them, and how to manufacture medicines from them. [Indeed, one of their medicines cured Michael Ehringhaus's[3] stomach cramps.]

In respect to nutrition, in reflecting on their health the women realized that a low-protein diet was causing health problems for them and their families and that they did not have the resources to buy sufficient quantities of meat and dairy products. In the information gathering phase they learned that soya flour was a cheap protein source. They also learned how to prepare the foods they enjoyed using soya flour.

The information gathering activities required constant interaction among the women during which they continued to dialogue among themselves identifying new problems, coming to new understandings and exploring new solutions. Thus a problem-solving infrastructure developed.

Discussion

Both models exhibit the essential characteristics of sistematizacion:

1. Theory is derived from practice, and from this theory strategies are derived to improve subsequent practice.

2. Information is systematically collected in order to ground theory in reality.

3. Data are analyzed through reflexive dialogue among practitioners.

4. Understanding the context in which programs operate is critical to theory formation.

5. Ideally, the sistematizacion process becomes an on-going component of practice.

6. Sistematizacion is controlled by the program. Practitioners of sistematizacion serve as facilitators and resources.

There are minor differences in the two models. The Hernandez/Grabarron model forefronts participatory research. As a result, program participants are considered to be the clients of sistematizacion. While the CLASEP model does not rule out participants as clients, more commonly the clients are program planners.

Notes

[1] Adapted from a schematic drawn by Carlos Cadena of CLASEP to describe his work with a popular drama group.

[2] From a figure drawn by Libertad Hernandez.

[3] A member of the visiting group.

Reference

Cadena, F. (1991). Transformar conociendo, conocer transformando. Convergence, 24(3), 50-62.

AT THE CROSSROADS: INTERSECTION OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND ADULT EDUCATION IN APPALACHIA

Beth Bingman & Connie White
Center for Literacy Studies, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Since the founding of the Highlander Center in 1932, there have been connections between social change and adult education in Appalachia. We report here on how adult education and social change intersect in regional multi-issue citizens' organizations and local community development groups and how these intersections impact the organizations, individuals and the struggle for change in the mountains.

Appalachia is often portrayed as a desolate region of "hills and hollers" and poor isolated communities of impoverished people. This current image of the region replaces an earlier version of a land of mountaineers preserving a culture of ballads and quaint speech. There is some truth in both versions, but both are far too simplistic. Much of the area does remain isolated, but while a family may be far from hospitals and schools, they are close to neighbors and kin. Traditional music and food are still part of people's lives, but so are MTV and McDonald's. What is prevalent is an economy based on extractive industry, a pattern of outside ownership of land and natural resources, unemployment consistently above national levels, and access to services consistently below what is available to most Americans. Appalachia is a changing region, one which is becoming more and more connected to the "mainstream," but which remains distinct.

With the exception of the struggles of the United Mine Workers, Appalachia's long history of resistance, from the Whiskey Rebellion against George Washington's administration and the battles by the Cherokee to preserve their land and culture in the Carolina mountains, is largely unknown. Particularly in the last thirty years there has been an "outburst of community organizing across Appalachia" (Fisher, in press) around issues as diverse as welfare reform, tax reform, economic development, opposition to toxic dumps, and new job opportunities for women. While most of these efforts have been organized around single issues there are also community organizations which confront many local problems, and there are a few broad-based multi-issue regional organizations.

There is also a history of adult education for change in Appalachia. For the most part the goal of these programs was to enable mountain people to be more like the rest of the country. The change envisioned by efforts like the Moonlight schools in Kentucky and the settlement schools established across the region was essentially the Americanization of Appalachians in the same way immigrants were to be Americanized. A few efforts, notably those of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee and the Appalachian Folk Life Center in West Virginia, were based on the belief that education should help adults make their own decisions about their lives and communities.

Our perspective on research and adult education is shaped by our experiences in the movement for social change in Appalachia over the past 20 years. We both worked in the public schools, primarily in elementary special education. At the same time we were involved in various social change organizations opposing strip mining and working for community economic development and community-based education. We have experience with both community and regional organizations as volunteers, staff and board members. We both continue to be active in Appalachian social change organizations as we work with the Center for Literacy Studies at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

We came to graduate school in adult education at least in part for the opportunity to reflect on our experiences. As we have thought about adult education and how it connects with social change, as well as how our academic work and research connects with the rest of our lives, we have been particularly influenced by the work of Paulo Freire, Myles Horton, and other transformative educators, and by critical and feminist theorists.

Closest to our work and concerns is the theory of liberatory education of Paulo Freire (1970; Freire & Macedo, 1987) and those he has influenced, and the work and ideas of Myles Horton (Horton & Freire, 1990). Their belief in the power of ordinary people to analyze and change their lives lends support to the work of the organizations with which we have been involved where people are organizing from the ground up to change their communities and region. Freire and Horton's work also encourages us to closely examine these organizations' limited use of education in their work. Gramsci's work on hegemony as interpreted by Giroux (1983) and others also seems useful when considering why organizations dedicated to social change view and practice education in traditional, non-liberatory ways.

While we have both been influenced by feminism in how we live our lives, we are only beginning to look at feminist theory. Teaching primarily women in community based classes and wondering about the changes we have seen in the thinking of activist women led us to the work of Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) in **Women's Ways of Knowing** and to the work of critical feminists like Patti Lather (1991).

This paper is based on four sources of data: group interviews with women from community development organizations, individual interviews with women active in the regional organization Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM), interviews with staff of three regional organizations, SOCM, Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC), and Community Farm Alliance (CFA), and our current work at the Center for Literacy Studies with community based literacy programs.

While none of the organizations we have worked with are women's organizations, many of the most active members are women. For an earlier project Bingman conducted a series of group interviews with women active in three local community organizations. Also for an earlier work White interviewed five women who are active SOCM members.

The three community organizations are in the far southwestern counties of Virginia, one in a small (350 people) farming community, one in an old coal camp, and one in one of the coal counties most affected by the recent United Mine Workers strike against Pittston Coal. Each group conducts varied programs including running a sewing factory, operating a preschool, selling used clothing, conducting a maternal and infant health program, holding summer youth recreation programs, rehabilitating housing, and providing food and other emergency support. Each also has an adult education program. All the groups provide literacy tutoring and host adult basic education classes and two also are the site for community college classes which have been to some extent community controlled. We met with a group of women from each of these organizations and asked them to discuss their educational experiences.

Interviews conducted with five SOCM members, all women, to learn about what the experience of participation in the group meant to them augmented the authors' own experience with the organization. SOCM is a grassroots, democratic citizens organization that works to help community people have a say in decisions which affect their lives. The five women interviewed worked on issues such as toxic waste dumping, stripmining and job loss.

Our third source of data is interviews with staff of three of the longest-lived, most visible social change organizations in the Appalachian region to learn about their adult education efforts. SOCM in Tennessee, and Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC) and Community Farm Alliance (CFA) in Kentucky, are broad-based, multi-issue organizations which use direct action organizing to confront political and social inequality in their communities.

Our final source of data comes from current efforts at the Center for Literacy Studies, where we work with several organizations in Appalachia as they develop community-based literacy programs. The groups have joined in a collaborative effort to gain and share information, think through and practice different ways of looking at education, and support each others' adult education programs. Members of these groups are concerned with human needs and justice issues. They may begin with goals of service, as these groups gain experience, they often develop a critical analysis that causes them to question ways that the economic and social systems serve to keep things the way they are, and to act on that analysis. Although they share many similarities, there is also diversity among the ten groups: some of these organizations have worked in their communities many years, while others are very new; some have centered their concerns in education, but others also work on economic development, environmental or women's issues; some have paid staff, while others do not. All of the organizations are working to help meet human needs and bring about change in their communities.

When we review our data and our experience our findings are: (1) that involvement in community organizations both stimulates and provides support for individual learning, change and development; (2) the largest, most visible social change organizations in Appalachia for the most part haven't seen a need to do "traditional" adult education work but do work to educate or empower their members; (3) while many more localized community groups are involved in this kind of traditional adult education, they are just beginning to explore how this intersects with their other social change work.

In the group interviews with women from community development organizations, some women had taken part in classes taught in the community often by faculty recruited by the organization. Others had been active in the organization, but had not taken classes. But their descriptions of how they had changed were similar as was their emphasis on the importance of working with the support of a group. The change mentioned by nearly everyone was an increase in confidence and a feeling that they could accomplish something, could do something not just for themselves but for others.

> You feel more a part of the community than somebody that's there. If you're going to do something to benefit yourself, your family, then you're taking part in your own life instead of just sitting back and letting everybody do everything except for you.

> It was something that really brought me out and made me know that I was an individual and that I could say what I felt like saying and that I could do things that I had never felt like I could do before. And made me realize that I didn't have to depend on anybody else, that I was my own person.

> I had it in my head, but there was no place to express it until I started getting involved in the community and with other women.

The women talked about how being involved in the organizations gave them confidence and how they had seen other women become active and involved. They have recognized themselves as knowers and are acting to change their lives and communities, are beginning to be empowered in the sense used by Lather: "...analyzing ideas about the causes of powerlessness, recognizing systematic oppressive forces, and acting both individually and collectively to change the conditions of our lives" (1991, p.4). But while the group support and familiar setting of the classes seem to have been important factors in encouraging these women, educational methodology is left up to the instructors and varies widely. The groups do not seem to view the nature of the practice of education as connected with their organizational goals or commitment to individual empowerment.

None of the three regional organizations have basic adult education programs, although they operate in a region with some of the highest rates of adult illiteracy in the nation. However both informal and structured education takes place continuously, in the form of workshops on issues the groups work on and members care about, and also on developing skills such as meeting facilitation, lobbying and dealing with the media. The learning also happens "on location", in planning and participating in "actions" such as demonstrations and informational picketing, and confronting public officials. Learning is a process that goes on in the midst of action taken to change the course of events in their members' own communities. The learning is engaged, passionate, quite different from most school learning.

These groups see their mission as organizing for social change. There are no efforts directly focused on learning to read and write, or on academic skills. For the most part, they do not call their work "adult education," but rather "leadership development" or "empowerment". Despite this, group members speak of "getting an education" on issues and citizenship, and note their individual growth, the building of confidence in their own power to think and to act.

> That was the first group of that kind we'd ever attended and to get up in front of them scared me to death, but when I came home I had a different outlook on life. I had a different feeling about things and I had pride in the fact that we had chose to stand up for our rights.

> You set out to do something that's hard -- when it's over, you've accomplished something!...I feel proud about it. I'm a person who has never been around something like this yet I went ahead and done it. So it makes you feel good about yourself.

Many group members speak of a turning point, a time when injustice encountered in their own lives caused them to reexamine what they had accepted. These women not only begin to think differently about their own lives, but are also moved to action:

> Our state regulations don't protect anybody but the companies, the industry, the people with money, that's what our state regulations protect...I couldn't believe that was allowed to go on! Up until that day I was reluctant to ever speak out against somebody like a state official...but when I realized they didn't have our best interest at heart..I don't see what choice I had.

The ten community groups working with the Center for Literacy Studies either have or are developing an adult literacy program. Even those people who recognized from their own lives and experience with the organization that their periods of greatest learning came out of interactions with other members and work on issues of concern to the community, those same people seem constrained by prevailing ideas of how to "do school". They are often unable to connect their organizations' community and social change work with their adult education programs.

- a Virginia community group is attempting to bring literacy tutors more fully into decision-making about the adult education portion of their organization

- another Virginia group is developing an adult education program for a community-owned factory

- a Kentucky program has used craft-making and marketing as the basis for reading and writing practice

- a Tennessee group is interviewing residents and writing community history

However, in some ways the adult education programs look, and in many ways are, very similar to conventional literacy efforts. We were surprised to find that even in adult education programs that were a part of organizations working for change, awareness of the group as a change agent sometimes seemed to stop at the classroom door. So oftentimes the community-based program looked much like a conventional program:

- Some literacy programs use individual tutoring as their base.

- In GED preparation programs, where learners attend classes, the concept of "group" may mean individuals gathered in the same place, but continuing to attend to their own separate work, not interacting and with little attention paid to building community, working together on group learning projects.

- The content of literacy and GED preparation programs often remains very centered on skill-building and does not bring in issues learners care about from their own lives or from the community. The literacy program is often thought of as a "service" and may be separate from other organizing and advocacy work the groups do.

- The role of the teacher is "expert", both in content and in managing the class, so that learners are not brought into decision making about the structure or content of the class.

- Most programs use at least some commercial materials, and some use commercial materials almost exclusively.

Still, these groups are thinking about education in broad terms, integrated with goals of economic and social justice, but many barriers remain. Few people have experience in figuring out how to make connections between learners' own lives, community issues related to social change, and opportunities to participate in the organizations' other activities. There is little knowledge about historical models (such as Highlander's Citizenship Schools) or current international work. Groups are isolated and so it is very difficult to share learning around these questions. These problems are compounded by scant resources of time, money and technology.

We can derive at least two implications from this work. The region's largest, most visible social change organizations are engaged in important adult education work, but often are not recognized for it, because the education is often informal and the organizations themselves do not push the idea that their work is adult education. Crediting their members' learning and their own adult education work should be done. The organizations would also do well to think through the ways that literacy may be a barrier to participation in the organization. The education programs of local community groups could support and strengthen community organizations and be more empowering for individuals if planners would apply lessons they've learned from their own experience in the group. Among those lessons which may come forward are the importance of group work, the value of learner participation in the planning and implementing of literacy programs, and ways to connect the issues the organization cares about with education programs through reading, writing, discussion and action steps formulated in literacy classes.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LITERACY AND NUMERACY TEST SCORES IN THE "SURVEY OF LITERACY SKILLS USED IN DAILY ACTIVITIES"

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The study investigated the relationship between numeracy and reading test scores on the Statistics Canada "Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities". It was observed that those male respondents who had high levels of reading skills achieved slightly higher numeracy scores than females with similar reading levels. The major finding was that numeracy and reading skills were so highly correlated that the association of numeracy with other variables was indistinguishable from the association of reading with those variables. The variable numeracy score was not sufficiently independent of reading score to be of value in other multivariate statistical analyses and its validity as a measure of mathematical functioning at home and in the workplace was questioned.

In 1989 Statistics Canada conducted a national survey to assess the functional reading, writing and numeracy skills of the adult population. For the first time in Canada a representative national sample of the population was surveyed to investigate specific questions concerning functional literacy and the characteristics of the undereducated. This paper reports an exploratory analysis of numeracy and reading test score data from the "Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities (SLSUDA)". (Statistics Canada, 1990) Frequently researchers focus on reading skills as their sole measure of literacy and exclude consideration of numeracy skills even though literacy educators in publicly funded programs include mathematics in their curricula, particularly if the learner is to earn a high school equivalency credential. Literacy survey results frequently have not provided useful information about the levels of functional numeracy in our communities. The SLSUDA is an important first attempt to assess the population's numeracy skills and detailed analyses of the data are needed.

Purpose of the Study

The study was conducted to investigate the relationship between numeracy and reading skills focussing largely on the neglected variable - numeracy. The two aspects of functional literacy were compared in terms of their effects on personal income and other important characteristics, to assess the relative utility of the two measures for future research purposes.

Study Variables

Literacy was defined in the survey as. "The information processing skills necessary to use the printed material commonly encountered at work, at home, and in the community" (Statistics Canada, 1990). Reading was assessed by an objective test (range 0-500, x=247, sd=55.7) which allowed each case to be assigned to one of four broad ability levels defined prior to data collection:

Canadians at reading:

Level 1 have difficulty dealing with printed materials. They likely identify themselves as people who cannot read [test score <150]

Level 2 can use printed materials only for limited purposes such as finding a familiar word in a simple text. They would likely recognize themselves as having difficulties with common reading materials [test score 150-204]

Level 3 can use reading materials in a variety of situations provided the material is simple, clearly laid out and the tasks are not too complex. While these people generally do not see themselves as having major reading difficulties, they tend to avoid situations requiring reading [test score 205-244]

Level 4 meet most everyday reading demands. This is a large and diverse group which exhibits a wide range of reading skills [test score >245] (Jones, 1990)

The survey's numeracy test items were intended to simulate the use of mathematics skills in everyday life and were embedded in reading tasks. For example, the simplest tasks were to match numbers indicating times from a swimming pool schedule and to write $100.00 on the "cash received" line of a bank deposit slip. At the highest level of test item difficulty respondents were required to complete a purchase order form from a mail order catalogue. Appropriately Statistics Canada informs its clients that the results of the numeracy assessments ought to be used with caution:

> Because so little is known about how reading and numerical operations combine in these tasks, users should exercise more caution in generalizing these results [numeracy] than in the reading results.(Statistics Canada, 1991, p. 19)

Three levels of functioning were defined to categorize the range of numeracy test scores. Statistics Canada has not yet provided the same technical details regarding the scoring of the numeracy test and the allocation of respondents to the three numeracy level categories, as has been provided for the reading test scores. The data selected for analysis included respondents who had worked at some time during the 52 weeks prior to participating in the survey. For this group (n=6,158) the test scores had a mean of 25.6 and a standard deviation of 4.02.

Canadians at numeracy:

Level 1 have very limited abilities to, at most, locate and recognize numbers in isolation or in a short task,

Level 2 can deal with material requiring them to perform a simple numerical operation such as addition and subtraction, Level 3 can deal with material requiring them to perform simple sequences of numerical operations to meet most everyday requirements.

An individual's assigned level of reading and numeracy functioning was the highest ability level at which performance on each test was consistent.

Analysis

The proportions of respondents with test scores in the highest category levels were the same for reading (level 4) and numeracy (level 3) at 62%. It is not yet known if this is solely an outcome of the categorization procedures used. The data revealed no differences between the distributions of males and females by reading levels however, male respondents demonstrated slightly higher levels of numeracy functioning than females with similarly high levels of reading skills (See Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of Canadian Adults Aged 16 to 69, With Level 4 Functional Reading Skills by Numeracy Skill Level.and by Sex.

Numeracy Skill Level

Reading Level 4	1		2		3		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Lo	2.8	1.7	18.9	22.6	78.3	75.7	74.1	71.8
Hi	0	0	6.2	7.5	93.6	92.4	25.9	28.2

The level four reading category was divided by Statistics Canada into two groups, high and low. Analysis of respondents categorized into the two groups revealed that while only 25.9% of all level four males were placed in the highest reading skill group as compared to 28.2% of female respondents, a slightly larger proportion of these males (93.6%) than females (92.4%) achieved level three numeracy scores. The difference in proportions was more distinct with the low level four reading group which included 74.1% of the males as compared to 71.8% of the females. In this group 78.3% of the males achieved level three numeracy as compared to 75.7% for female respondents. These differences may be attributable to different work place literacy skills having been acquired by males and females. While females had larger representation than males in high reading skills, similarly skilled male readers had higher representation than females in the high numeracy skills group.

The reading and numeracy test scores were found to be very highly correlated (r= .73, p> .0001) and each was significantly associated with other personal variables including years of schooling completed (Reading, r=.13, p<.01; Numeracy, r=.12, p<.01). and with nativity, sex, number of weeks worked and personal income. No variables in the data set were identified, which were associated with reading skill scores without a similar association being observed for numeracy (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Product Moment Correlation Coefficients

Reading	1.0					
Numeracy	.73	1.0				
Years schooling	.13	.12	1.0			
Personal income	.12	.19	.20	1.0		
Weeks worked	.10	.09	.17	.46	1.0	
Age	-.17	-.15	.18	.15	.07	1.0

To assess the extent to which numeracy and reading skills contributed to respondents' economic well being the effect of numeracy skills on personal income, was compared to the effect of reading skills on income using multiple classification analysis (MCA). A previous study had been conducted on the effects of reading skills on income and employment (Blunt, 1991a & 1991b). It was thought that the effects of the two components of literacy might yield different results on the basis of skill and gender differentiated occupations and industrial sectors.

Virtually no differences were observed between the net effect of numeracy level and the net effect of reading level on personal income after controlling for sex, age, nativity occupation and industry. The results of the analysis were virtually identical (See Table 2). In terms of associations with specific occupational categories, no differences were observed in deviations from the personal income grand mean for numeracy and reading with respect to any occupations including: stenographers & typists, book keepers and accountants, engineers, library and file persons, arts and recreation, electronics, farm and sales occupations. Although these occupations might be expected to differ in terms of the reading and numeracy skills required for work competence the SLSUDA test items were not sufficiently sensitive to detect any differences between them.

Table 2: Beta Coefficients and Mean Deviations for Reading and Numeracy Levels From Multiple Classification Analysis of Effects on Personal Income

	Reading Level	Numeracy Level
Beta coefficients		
Personal income	.12	.11
Sex	.28	.26
Age	.37	.36
Nativity	.03	.02
Occupation	.29	.29
Industry	.22	.21
Unadjusted Mean deviations from grand mean-income		
Stenos & typists	0.85	0.86
Bookkeepers & Accs.	- 1.55	- 1.58
Library, File	- 0.70	- 0.70
Retail sales	0.55	0.57
Food, beverage	0.84	0.86
Engineers	1.11	1.09
Electronics	0.66	0.66
Farming	- 0.15	- 0.14
Arts & Recreation	- 0.56	- 0.57

Conclusions.

As the reading and numeracy test scores were so highly correlated there was little variation in the distribution of respondents to the respective variable level categories. With such a large degree of shared variance the usefulness of "numeracy score" in statistical analyses of the survey data, as a variable independent of the effects of reading score, is very limited. It was not possible to find any associations between numeracy and other survey variables that were not similarly observable for reading skills. The reading skill variable is an excellent proxy for numeracy and vice versa. It was concluded that the SLSUDA data contributes little to knowledge about 1) differences between numeracy and reading skills and 2) the distribution and characteristics of persons by numeracy skill levels.

The construct validity of numeracy may be questioned on the basis of its failure to demonstrate associations with variables that differ in magnitude from those associated with reading skills. It is unclear whether mathematical functioning as an information processing skill in the SLSUDA has been adequately differentiated from reading skill. Alternatively the two literacy capabilities may be so closely associated that they cannot be distinguished from one another through functional testing. It may only be at the level of mathematical operations that are not embedded in reading tasks that tests might adequately distinguish adults' numeracy from reading competencies Reports from pre adult studies have consistently reported high correlations between reading skills and mathematics and science test scores. To continue to work to distinguish between reading and numeracy skills with the current approach to functional testing may prove to be intellectually challenging but ultimately contribute little of value to the practice of literacy educators and to the data on the literacy characteristics of the population.

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VACLAV HAVEL, POSTMODERNISM, AND MODERNITY: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN THE WEST

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This paper investigates the possibilities open to adult educators who reject the modern impulse to systematize and unify. Against popular opinion, we argue that not all postmodern options are bleak. We offer as an example a positive postmodern alternative advanced by Czechoslovakian President/playwright Václav Havel.

> Man [sic] must in some way come to his senses. He [sic] must extricate himself from this terrible involvement in both the obvious and the hidden mechanisms of totality, from consumption to repression, from advertising to manipulation through television. He [sic] must rebel against his role as a helpless cog in the gigantic and enormous machinery hurtling God knows where. (Havel, 1990, p. 11)

In this paper, we consider postmodernists to be those among us who reject the modern impulse to systematize and universalize. We believe such individuals or alliances of individuals are attracted to postmodernism because

> Postmodernism challenges global, all-encompassing world views, be they political, religious or social..., reduces Marxism, Christianity, fascism, Stalinism, capitalism, liberal democracy, secular humanism, feminism, Islam, and modern science to the same order and dismisses them all as logocentric, transcendental totalizing meta-narratives that anticipate all questions and provide pre-determined answers. (Rosenau, 1992, p. 6)

Consequently, postmodern adult educators are those who are suspicious of the moral claims, traditions, and institutional norms of modern adult-education systems. They do not view the modern practice of adult education as a movement of liberation; they view it, rather, as a source of subjugation and oppression. While practitioners of modern adult-education seek to reduce the complex to the simple, predetermine objectives and outcomes, and construct standardized systems; postmodern adult educators celebrate complexity, welcome indeterminacy, and respect differences.

The disparate and fragmented nature of postmodernism, however, has lead many to conclude its outcome is inevitably bleak, resulting in relativism, at best; nihilism, at worst. But postmodern positions are many and varied, and the rejection of "global, all-encompassing world views" need not entail despair and cynicism. This is particularly important for socially conscious, postmodern adult educators.

The failure of the East's totalizing system—the grand Soviet, socialist project—has caused some socially conscious adult educators to look to postmodernism to provide nontotalizing alternatives to the totalizing system they feel threatens the West—post-industrial capitalism. Consequently, postmodernism must offer these educators more than cynicism and despair if it is to be the basis of a credible critique of the homogenizing, new world-order championed by supporters of the right. It is our contention that such postmodern alternatives do exist, and that one such alternative is advanced by Czechoslovakian President/playwright, Václav Havel.

Following Rosenau (1992), Lash (1990), Agger (1990), Foster (1989), Gitlin (1989), Griffin (1988), and Graff (1979), it is our contention that while postmodernism is multi-faceted, its many variants fall into two broad categories. Rosenau (1992) labels the first of these "skeptical" postmodernism. This category includes many of those postmodernists who have won notoriety in recent years, for instance, Derrida, Barthes, Lacan, Baudrillard, Lyotard, and Deleuze. This "is the dark side of post-modernism, the post-modernism of despair, the post-modernism that speaks of the immediacy of death, the demise of the subject, the end of the author, the impossibility of truth, and the abrogation of the Order of Representation" (Rosenau, 1992, p. 15). Postmodernists of this persuasion argue the following:

> ... that the destructive character of modernity makes the post-modern age one of 'radical, unsurpassable uncertainty'..., characterized by all that is grim, cruel, alienating, hopeless, tired, and ambiguous. In this period no social or political 'project' is worthy of commitment. Ahead lies overpopulation, genocide, atomic, destruction, the apocalypse, environmental devastation, the explosion of the sun and the end of the solar system in 4.5 billion years, the death of the universe through entropy. Even where there is room for happiness, farce, parody, pleasure, 'joyous affirmation'..., these are only temporary, empty meaningless forms of gaiety that mark a period of waiting for catastrophe.... If, as skeptics claim, there is no truth, then all that is left, is the play of words and meaning.(p. 15)

For confirmation of Rosenau's account of skeptical postmodernism, one need look no further than Derrida's (1984) infamous account of the end of modernity:

> It is not only the end of this here but also and first of that there, the end of history, the end of the class struggle, the end of philosophy, the death of God, the end of religions, the end of Christianity and morals... the end of the subject, the end of man, the end of the West, the end of Oedipus, the end of the earth, Apocalypse Now, I tell you, in the cataclysm, the fire, the blood, the fundamental earthquake, the napalm descending from the skies by helicopter, like prostitutes and also the end of literature, the end of painting, art is a thing of the past, the end

> of the past, the end of psychoanalysis, the end of the university, the end of phallocentrism and phallogocentrism and I don't know what else.

It is little wonder that theatrical renditions such as this have focused the concern of many on the bleaker aspects of postmodernism. Fortunately, Rosenau's (1992) second category of "affirmative" postmodernism includes variants of postmodernism that are more optimistic.

Rosenau points out that while affirmative post-modernists "agree with the skeptical post-modernists' critique of modernity; they have a more hopeful, optimistic view of the post-modern age.... The generally optimistic affirmatives are oriented toward process. They are either open to positive political action (struggle and resistance) or content with the recognition of visionary, celebratory personal nondogmatic projects" (Rosenau, 1992, p. 15). It is into this category that Václav Havel's postmodernism falls.

While some know Václav Havel as the President of Czechoslovakia, and others as the dissident playwright who led a courageous struggle to end communism in Eastern Europe, few know him as a perceptive and important commentator on the "global automatism of technological civilization" (Havel, 1978, p. 115). It is in this role, however, that Havel has most to offer postmodern adult-educators in North America. Havel offers a promising alternative to postmodern adult-educators who wish to act meaningfully in a postmodern world.

Is Havel a postmodernist? While Havel, himself, might laugh at the suggestion, many of his ideas are clearly postmodern. Havel (1978), for instance, is careful to distinguish the ideals of the Eastern Bloc's "post-totalitarian" system from the reality of the Czechoslovakian people. He observes that while "post-totalitarian society demands conformity, uniformity, and discipline," "life moves towards plurality, diversity, independent self-constitution and self organization"; that while the system "contrives to force life into its most probable states," "life ever thrives to create new and 'improbable' structures" (p. 44). Following other postmodernists, Havel dismisses as fiction the possibility that logocentric, transcendental, totalizing systems can ever meet the diverse and indeterminate needs of human life. He understands "systemic change as something superficial, something secondary," and spurns abstract and technocratic political visions (p. 92). Political reality, he insists, "is not something that can be designed and introduced like a new car" (p. 71).

Postmodern leanings notwithstanding, Havel believes people can act meaningfully to create an improved society. This distinguishes Havel's affirmative postmodernism from that of skeptical postmodernism. The postmodern problem of despair, Havel (1990) argues, stems not from hopelessness but from loss: "the loss of metaphysical certainties, of an experience of the transcendental, of any superpersonal moral authority, and of any kind of higher horizon" (pp. 10-11). The question postmodernists must answer is "How can humans be subjects of actions, historically effective and free individuals, in a world in which subjectivity is unsupported by transcendent phenomena or metaphysical essences?" (Warren, 1988, p. 7). Havel's answer is revealed through his analysis of the Eastern Bloc's post-totalitarian society.

Havel reveals how the Eastern Bloc's post-totalitarian system strives to deny the diversity and particularity of human life, offering in its stead the unifying ideals of a monolithic system. The survival of such a system, however, depends on the full cooperation of all involved. As with science, the universalized and unified laws of the system take on the appearance of eternal Truths, and only that which confirms the Truth is acceptable and valued, all else becomes undesirable and valueless. Havel's analysis reveals just this, describing how the Eastern Bloc's post-totalitarian system created an ideology, a world of appearances, a mirage, or a web of lies to support its idealized conception of reality. The system's continued existence, however, depends upon its version of Truth remaining unchallenged; it must be perceived as the only reality, not one version of reality: "As long as appearance is not confronted with reality, it does not seem to be appearance" (Havel, 1978, p. 56).

Consequently, the ultimate threat to any system lies not in other idealized conceptions of reality, but in the actions of those who seek to expose all systematized accounts of reality for what they really are—fabrications. This is precisely what all postmodernists do. To say "the emperor is naked... because the emperor is in fact naked," it is possible to demonstrate "that living a lie is living a lie;" "to break through the exalted façade of the system and expose the real, base foundations of power"; "to peer behind the curtain"; to show "everyone that it *is* possible to live within the truth"; that "living within the lie can constitute the system only if it is universal"; that "the principle must embrace and permeate everything"; that "there are no terms whatsoever on which it [the system] can coexist with living the truth, and therefore [that] everyone who steps out of line *denies it* [the system] *in principle and threatens it in its entirety* " (Havel, 1978, p. 56).

Havel is a postmodernist because he denies systems any basis for their claims to universality. He is an affirmative postmodernist because he sees the rejection of the system as the result of positive and creative actions that give birth to and nurture new social "structures that are open, dynamic and small" (p. 118). According to Havel, the "ultimate phase of this process is the situation in which the official structures [of the system] simply begin withering away and dying off, to be replaced by new structures that have evolved from 'below' and are put together in a fundamentally different way" (p. 108). While Havel develops these ideas in relation to the post-totalitarian system of the East, he is careful to point out that they are equally applicable to the post-industrial system of the West: "... in the end, is not the greyness and the emptiness of life in the post-totalitarian system only an inflated caricature of modern life in general? And do we not in fact stand... as a kind of warning to the West, revealing to it its own latent tendencies?" (p. 54). This being said, we turn now to the implications of Havel's analysis of the post-totalitarian system in the East for adult educators in the West.

Jane Cruikshank (1991) offers one example of North American adult-educators working in an oppressive system. In her paper entitled, "Ethical issues in university extension work," Cruikshank describes how "social change-oriented" adult educators working in departments of extension are often compelled to compromise their ethical standards in favour of those of the institution. Stripped of the power to determine the purpose and nature of the programs they provide, and unable—without running the risk of dismissal—to challenge the imperatives of the system in which they worked, many of the educators become disillusioned and deactivated. What hope does Havel offer adult educators such as these?

Havel is careful to point out that "the power of the powerless" lies not in directly confronting the system but by denying it in principle, by choosing to live in the truth and refusing to live in the lie. This process of living in the truth as opposed to living the lie of the system proceeds until, ultimately,

> ... the point where living within the truth ceases to be a mere negation of living with the lie and becomes articulate in a particular way, is the point at which something is born that might be called the 'independent spiritual, social and political life of society'. This independent life is not separated from the rest of life... by some sharply defined line. Both types frequently coexist in the same people. Nevertheless, its most important focus is marked by a relatively high degree of inner emancipation. It sails upon the vast ocean of the manipulated life like little boats, tossed by the waves but always bobbing back as visible messengers of living within the truth, articulating the suppressed aims of life. (Havel, 1978, p. 85)

By trying as best they can to turn away from the universalizing structures of the system and creating small, face-to-face, "parallel structures," these oppressed extension workers, indeed, any of us, can escape the despair of the postmodern condition. With courage and perseverance, such alliances contribute to the growth of movements whose primary purpose "is always... to have an impact on society, not to affect the power structure...; they demonstrate that living within the truth is a human and social alternative and they struggle to expand the space available for that life; they shatter the world of 'appearances' and unmask the real nature of power" (p. 105).

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THE CENTRALITY OF NEGOTIATING INTERESTS IN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM PLANNING PRACTICE

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This paper argues that we should understand the centrality of negotiating interests in the planning practice of adult educators.

Background and Purpose

If we are to understand and improve planning practice, an obvious question presents itself: So what do program planners really do? This paper argues that we should understand the centrality of negotiating interests in planning practice.

In order to see why we use this image to understand program planning practice, we considered in a previous paper (Cervero & Wilson, 1991) three common accounts of what adult education program planners do (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Schubert, 1986). We argued that the Classical viewpoint abstractly models an ideal system of planning but does not help us understand everyday practice or action. After all, the Naturalistic viewpoint argues, planners are real people who have to decide what action to take in the real world. If a planning theory is going to be most helpful, then, it must account for how planners actually deliberate about what action to take. This view forcefully draws our attention to the practical contexts of action and the process by which planners make planning judgments in those contexts. But what about the personal, institutional, and social interests (and the resulting relations of power) that shape the contexts of action and the feasibility of planners' judgments, asks the Critical viewpoint? If planners do not take interests into account, they surely will be ineffective. Planning in the face of interests is a daily necessity and a constant ethical challenge (Forester, 1989).

This paper has two purposes. First, we identify the central problem with all three accounts. In sum, each presents a model of practice that strongly emphasizes one or the other poles of the typical dichotomies of planner discretion and structural constraints, or more generally, rationality and politics. We argue that while these dichotomies may be distinguished in theory, effective planning practice requires their integration (Forester, 1989). In the second section, we present our viewpoint about what planners do and its implications for understanding and improving planning practice. This image of negotiating interests is illustrated with material from three cases studies of actual planning practice. A more complete version of these three cases can be found in an unpublished manuscript (Cervero & Wilson, in press).

The Neglected Dimension of Practice: Integrating Planner Discretion and Structural Constraints

Planners are not free agents, able to choose unencumbered any planning course they want. Nor, however, are their actions utterly determined by the social and institutional structures in which they work. Although this dichotomy between planner discretion and structural constraint may be distinguished in theory, it must be integrated in any planning practice. Yet none of the three planning viewpoints focuses on this necessary integration. Each emphasizes one or the other elements of the dichotomy.

The Classical Viewpoint assumes that programs emerge from applying a set of prescribed planning steps. Answer some permutation of Tyler's four questions in any planning situation and a program will emerge. This viewpoint privileges planner discretion at the expense of structural constraint; it offers no perspective on how the context affects planning. Such extreme individualism falsely empowers individuals with an unconstrained ability to act meaningfully in the world. As further evidence of its decontextualized perspective, this viewpoint has no formal place for conflict. Planners in this viewpoint are more concerned with the procedural questions of implementation than they are with possible conflict over what the purposes of a program should be (Posner, 1988).

The Naturalistic Viewpoint compensates for this false sense of consensus by arguing that planning is fundamentally deliberative in nature. This viewpoint locates planning practice in the relations among people, in their discussions, deliberations, and arguments about what to do. Like the Classical Viewpoint, however, it also tends to privilege planner discretion at the expense of structural constraint, for it locates deliberation in the talk and argument of individual planners (Walker, 1975). While we can begin to see the interest-driven and negotiated aspects of planning, this viewpoint does not provide clear insights into the dynamics of these conflicts nor into the contexts in which they occur. Although the Naturalistic Viewpoint replaces the principles of the Classical Viewpoint with the notion that programs evolve from deliberation about means and ends, planning practice and action are still primarily within planners' discretion.

The Critical Viewpoint swings across to the other side of the dichotomy. This viewpoint argues that educational programs are largely determined by structural forces, namely the dominant ideologies and interests of social, cultural, and political institutions. In this perspective, the interests of social and institutional structures transcend, and ultimately minimize, planner discretion. In other words, structure is privileged at the expense of individual choice. Yet, this viewpoint offers important contributions to understanding planning practice. Rather than focusing on planners' individual discretion, it says, we must clearly understand that the interests embedded in the institutional context inevitably determine what planners do, and inevitably, what they must do.

Although these three viewpoints offer important insights into planning practice, they are necessarily incomplete because people cannot act in the real world as they assume. In other words, they are based on a flawed version of human action (Bernstein, 1971; 1988; Hawkesworth, 1989; Lave, 1988). Planners always act in a context, and as Forester has so well argued, "ignoring the opportunities and dangers of an organizational setting is like walking across a busy intersection with one's eyes closed" (p. 7). This is a powerful image because it offers a useful metaphor for integrating planner discretion and structural constraint. Like planning, crossing a busily travelled street is a practical, not a theoretical activity. Both require an integration of human discretion within the constraints that fundamentally structure that activity. Street crossers have to take notice of and negotiate the interests and behavior of other persons acting with the constraints of traffic relations. If they do not, it is likely they will be run over. Planning practice is much the same: Planners must negotiate the interests of other persons acting within their organizational structure; otherwise, their programs will fail.

Just as the individual crossing the busy intersection must negotiate the structures of traffic patterns, we locate planning in the social activity of individuals planning programs in an institutional and social context. The interests embedded in their institutional structures constrain what is possible and desirable so that only a certain range of actions are typically conceivable. At the same time, planners bring their own interests about what is possible and desirable to the planning arena. In the activity of the planner acting in context, programs emerge through the negotiation of multiple interests. The norms of what is possible and desirable are located in the relations of planners acting in their organizational settings. Consequently by understanding what interests guide planning practice, we can understand why programs end up with a certain set of purposes, content, and methods.

A New Image of Planning Practice: Negotiating Interests

We began this paper by asking what planners do. We believe the essential issue confronting program planning theory in adult education is that it does not adequately account for the important things that real educators must do in everyday practice. As argued above, we need an account of planning practice that integrates planner discretion and structural constraint. In order to do this, we located practice in the intellectual traditions that "seek to explain relations between human action and the social or cultural system at the level of everyday activities in culturally organized settings" (Lave, 1988, p. 14).

The crucial first step in this direction is to move planning out of the minds of individual planners and into the social relations among people working in institutional settings. Thus, planning is essentially a social activity in which educators negotiate with each other in answering questions about a program's form, including its purpose, content, and methods. An educational program is never produced by a single planner acting outside of an institutional and social context. Rather, these programs are produced by people with multiple interests working in specific institutional contexts that profoundly affect their content and form.

By locating practice in its social context, it becomes inextricably linked to the complex world of human and institutional interests. Interests is a concept we borrow from the Critical Viewpoint, but expand its meaning to include not just relations of power but more encompassing notions of needs, motivations, and purposes, each interacting among the relationships of people and their organizational settings. Thus, interests are the human social purposes that give direction for getting along in and transforming the lived-in world (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Habermas, 1971). Interests make the world as they are manifested through human action. In this way, they provide a way to integrate planner discretion and institutional context.

We can see the interests in the three cases of planning practice presented in our book (Cervero & Wilson, in press). Pete and Joan are negotiating a number of interests in planning their company's management retreat. The president, Pete, and Joan all want to improve the efficiency of management communication. But Pete and Joan also intend to "humanize" the communication style in the company and change the current organizational culture. Pete's interests lie also in avoiding line and staff disputes; Joan's lie in improving customer service. The facilitator, George, is concerned with insuring participant involvement in defining goals for the retreat in spite of the fact that Pete, Joan, and the president have already largely determined what those goals are.

In the pharmacy case, Carl is concerned with balancing practitioners' mandatory recertification requirements with what he calls "meaningful" content along with the absolutely practical interest in economically "breaking even." Bob is also acutely aware of the institutional interests forming the structure and content of this program: to maintain traditional ties with the college's student and professional constituency, to highlight the activities of the college and its faculty, and to remain viable and competitive within his own institution as well as his community of pharmacy continuing educators. Richard, the faculty advisor who is facing tenure, wants an opportunity to make a difference in pharmacy and to become well-known as an expert in a specific area of research.

Marti and Ann must also deal with a variety of interests in planning the program about employing persons with disabilities: governmental mandates to create societal changes in the way persons with disabilities are treated, funding mandates to use allocations to "leverage" more funds to carry out the activities of their institutional mission, and the interest in enhancing their image in their own institutional context and that of the larger disability community.

As these three cases indicate, neither planner discretion nor structural constraint can account for the form of the programs. Each planner is working with a complex array of interpersonal and institutional interests that ultimately become expressed in the final program. Program planners must work, as these three cases illustrate, with situation-specific institutional and human interests, which are often in conflict, are constantly changing, may be invisible, and may be at variance with the planner's own values and intentions. Yet these interests define for planners what is possible, desirable, and at times, imaginable.

Every program will be constructed, then, out of the negotiation of these interests in the social context. Some will rise to prominence and others will recede to insignificance in planning an educational program. This negotiation is expressed in every practical judgment made in creating any educational program, including its purposes, content, method, presenters, and location. Every aspect of a program represents the interests that went into its creation. Effective planning practice requires an active awareness and careful negotiation of the multiple interests within the social context.

Implications for Planning Practice

How does a program come to be? Its ultimate form, both in the abstract nature of a brochure or syllabus and as experienced by participants, emerges from the everyday activities of those who planned it. Programs are fashioned through the planning practices of many people in the concrete settings of common institutional life. In our view questions about a prospective program's purposes, content, and methods are important, but they are not givens to work with or toward. Rather, they are practical and political problems to be formulated and continually reconstructed through daily practice (Forester, 1989). How program planners negotiate interests to answer these questions is the central problem of their practice.

This image of planning as a social activity in which planners negotiate interests can improve practice for three reasons. First, we can make sense of much of the apparent noise of daily work once we recognize that program planning is a social activity of negotiating interests. The daily informal conversations, public planning meetings, uncountable numbers of telephone calls, and the memoranda, letters, and faxes now endemic in the modern organization are the media through which these negotiations are conducted. By using an image that moves planning out of the minds of planners and into the social relations among people, we can now account for the everyday activities of planning practice.

Secondly, this image identifies planning inescapably as a political activity. One simply cannot plan an educational program without attention to interests of the institution or its relations of power. The negotiation of these interests along with those of the planner, the potential learners, those providing funding for the program, as well as the larger public is fundamentally a political act. Some interests will become central to the planning of a program while others will be downplayed. In some instances where there is a great deal of consensus among all of the interests regarding the purposes, content, and methods of a program, the negotiation will appear to proceed easily. However, this should not mask the fact that negotiation is occurring. Much more often, however, there will be uncertainties, ambiguities, and conflict that must be resolved in planning a program.

Finally, the ethical responsibilities of planners are more clearly defined. Because planners are no longer neutral actors, the central ethical question is which interests will be selected to organize the planning. This is made more difficult because it is not a judgment to be made once and for all at the beginning of the planning; rather, it is being negotiated throughout all of the activities that give form to a specific program. In the messy world of organizational politics, it is often easiest to do "what works." However, program planners frequently feel at odds with the dominant organizational interest. This can happen, for example, when the organizational interest to make a profit from a program by enrolling large numbers of participants creates an educational format that effectively silences participants. This image does not offer ethical standards that must be applied in every situation.

However, by drawing attention to the centrality of interests in planning, it can identify the important types of judgments planners routinely make in shaping every educational program.

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THE RESTRUCTURING OF MEANING: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF CONTEXT ON TRANSFORMATIONAL LEARNING

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This study examined self-identified transformational learning experiences of nine adults in order to assess the role of context in the learning process. Rather than being incidental to the learning process, context was directive and determinative of the learning in every case studied.

> "Who are you?" said the Caterpillar.... "I--I hardly know, Sir, just at present," Alice replied rather shyly, "at least I know who I was when I got up this morning, but I think I must have changed several times since then."
>
> --Lewis Caroll, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

While most of us can't relate to the rapid and multiple changes in identity that Alice speaks of, we don't have to fall down a rabbit hole to experience transformation in our lives. Those changes are the benchmarks of the developmental process. Whether they are predictable shifts in social roles as a person matures, or those unpredictable events which change a life course, such experiences result in significant changes in how people think about and understand themselves, the world, and their role in that world.

The question of exactly how these changes occur is addressed by various disciplines, most construing the process in terms of changes in the shaping of meaning from experience. Cognitive theory, working in the tradition of Piaget, argues for stages of thought which are developmental in character, each representing "qualitatively different ways of making sense, understanding, and constructing a knowledge of the world" (Tennant, 1988, p.68). Similar ideas are represented in life span developmental theory and by psychologists who connect personal growth to changes in meaning formation.

In the adult education literature it is Mezirow (1991) who offers the most comprehensive explanation of how these changes are made. He conceives of meaning making as central to learning: "Learning may be understood as the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or a revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience in order to guide future action" (p.12). His theory focuses on how this process is effected, with particular attention to how meaning is restructured when adults encounter experiences which challenge their current meaning systems, a process he calls transformational learning. His theory of perspective transformation offers a cogent explanation of the learning which underlies adult development.

However, there is a problem which all these theories share. All come out of a psychological tradition, where the focus is on the individual largely apart from the context within which the individual is situated. That context is assumed to be neutral and therefore to have no significant impact on the learning process. This premise, problematic in its positivist assumptions when applied to social realities, is all the more problematic when the issues are framed in terms of meaning formation. How can meaning be understood apart from context? As Mishler (1979, p.2) argues, "human action and experience are context dependent and can only be understood within their contexts." To seek to explore the meaning of an event apart from its context is contradictory. Further, if context is not attended to, it is impossible to assess the impact it might have on the learning process itself.

It was to these issues that my study was addressed. I sought to understand how the transformational learning process is effected, with particular attention to the role context plays in that process.

Methodology

Because the objective of this study was to obtain a naturalistic and holistic understanding of the experience of transformational learning, a qualitative design was most appropriate. I chose a purposive sample of nine adults who could identify an experience of transformational learning, an experience which I defined as one which had had a significant impact on their lives, changing in some way how they understood themselves and the world, as well as their place in the world. I was also careful to select people who were articulate, reflective, and self-aware, qualities which would enable them to access and describe their experiences more fully. All were established in adult roles; the youngest was 32 and the oldest was 74. While the transformational learning experience did not have to be recent, the person had to have sufficient recall of the experience and his or her engagement with it in order to discuss it in some detail. A variety of experiences were represented, to include recovery from alcohol- ism, dealing with sexual harassment, religious conversion, becoming a feminist, adjusting to physical disability, confront- ing personal racism, and marriage or parenting late in life.

I collected data by means of informal conversational interviews with each participant. These lasted 1 1/2 to 2 hours; follow-up interviews were conducted with four participants. In the course of the interview participants were asked to describe the transformational learning experience in detail, as well as various contextual factors, to include such aspects as status of key relationships, issues of social interaction, cultural factors, relevant historical parameters, recent personal history, economic status, etc. I also asked participants to discuss their family of origin, addressing their relationships with parents and siblings, values stressed as they were growing up, and any childhood experiences relevant to the transformational experience being studied. For example, if their learning experience involved parenting, I asked them to discuss in some detail their experience of being parented.

I transcribed each interview and analyzed the data using both phenomenological and heuristic methods. The result was a complex, in-depth understanding of transformational learning as it was experienced by each person.

Findings

In this study I identified two types of contexts: (1) the more distant or background context, consisting primarily of personal and family history, but also including historical, geographical, or sociocultural influences on the person growing up; and (2) the more immediate context surrounding the learning event, made up of the personal and professional situation of the individual at that time, as well as any relevant historical, geographical, or sociocultural factors.

When the transformational learning event was considered within these two levels of context, there was a striking congruence between the context and both the nature of the learning experience and the direction it took. Rather than being incidental to the learning process, context was directive and determinative of the learning. When the learning is viewed within its context it becomes clear that the context explains the learning and does so because it shapes and structures it. The distant context of personal and family background sets the person up for the transformational learning experience in the sense that it structures the parameters within which she or he will deal with that experience; the immediate context often reinforces these parameters and shapes the learning in other significant ways. To say the learning is congruent with context, then, is to draw out these linkages and make them explicit.

A dramatic example of this is Barbara, a 50-year-old professor who for several years was subjected to sexual harassment by her advisor during her doctoral studies in the early 1970's. Fearful of jeopardizing her career, she blocked his sexual advances but remained silent about the abuse. She submitted multiple drafts of her dissertation but he rejected each one, belittling her work; finally, when her time for completion had elapsed, he notified her that he would not agree to an extension. She returned to campus for a final meeting and, on the way to his office, was overcome by "a gathering rage," a rage so intense that it changed her understanding of herself and of her experience with this man. In the meeting she confronted him and announced she would expose him. He backed down, agreeing to give her an extension, and she completed her dissertation within a year and published it. Contextual factors explain both why Barbara remained vulnerable to her advisor's attacks for so many years, as well as why she was finally able to confront him successfully. Her family repressed emotions and hid secrets; it was never acknowledged, for example, that her parents had had to marry. Historically, the women's movement had only begun to reemerge in the early 1970's; oppression by men was not yet commonly understood and even the term "sexual harassment" was not yet in use. The sociocultural context therefore reinforced her isolation. Other contextual factors shaped her transformational experience. Barbara had begun teaching after she completed her course work, and her first faculty position was at a black college in the South. She was there in 1967 and 1968, during tumultuous years of the Civil Rights Movement, and she watched her students grapple with issues of empowerment and helped them understand what was happening to them. She also began reading Betty Friedan and Kate Millett and, in her next faculty post, helped organize the first women's studies course at that college. While she was not conscious of these experiences and ideas having a personal impact on her, the connections between them and her own breakthrough as she confronted her advisor seem clear.

Gordon provides a very different example. At 20 he broke his neck in a diving accident. While this event dramatically changed his life, he adjusted to paralysis unusually well. He did not experience any emotional upheaval and he made a smooth transition in his college plans, shifting from drama to instructional technology. Again, contextual factors explain the shape of his learning. He grew up in a close-knit family that valued education, but the knowledge that was stressed was more scientific or pragmatic. His father was a plumber/pipe fitter and his mother a high school science teacher, and under their influence Gordon developed an analytical, pragmatic approach to life. When he was injured his response was not to ask "Why me?" but rather to "figure out where you are, what you've got, and where you go from here." Gordon dealt with his disability not philosophically but analytically, in the way most congruent with his upbringing.

There was another element of context which was critical here. Gordon's family, always close-knit and supportive, was a sustaining factor during his period of adjustment. They visited him often and cared for him when he left the spinal cord center, first making the necessary structural changes in their home to accommodate him. More significant still was the relationship that was developing with the woman he was to marry. She visited him frequently when he was hospitalized, then later when he was living with his parents. When he returned to college, she moved in with him, and they were married the following year. The support of this primary relationship cannot be overestimated in assessing Gordon's adjustment to his disability.

A final example is offered by two women whose transformational learning experiences were religious in nature. While there was no way to predict that either would have a religious transformation, once that became the arena of change it was predictable that each learning experience would take the general direction it did. Julia was raised in a religious family where going to church several times a week "was what we did." However, she stopped attending church in her early adult years. In midlife, as she reassessed her values and dealt with a weakening marriage, she returned to the church, attending a religious retreat and ultimately joining a lay Episcopal community where she dedicated herself to work for the poor. Her marriage ended but she had become part of a spiritual family which gave a profound new meaning to her life. Sarasvati also identified a religious experience as her transformational learning but it differed significantly from Julia's. Her childhood was chaotic; both parents were emotionally unstable and she coped by turning inward. Her experience of formal religion was unsatisfying; what made most sense to her was her own intuitive experience of God's presence everywhere. Her early adulthood was even more chaotic than her childhood, involving participation in the hippie movement, two failed marriages, birth of a child she was unable to raise, and experimentation with drugs. Looking for stability she again turned inward. She attended a seminar on creative mind expansion where she learned a meditation technique; this experience, together with finding a guru, has brought order and peace to her life.

For both Julia and Sarasvati the parameters of learning were set by their different contexts, thereby shaping and directing their learning in different ways. Likewise for Barbara and Gordon, and for all the participants in my study, there is a striking congruence between both the distant and immediate contexts and the transformational learning experience, indicating the formative role context plays in the learning process.

Discussion

My understanding of context as those personal and sociocultural factors surrounding individuals and impacting their learning is at variance with most of the literature on adult learning. This research has been informed by developmental theory, and Dannefer (1984), in his critique of stage theory, argues that "the environment, as Skolnick (1975) states, is the 'scene or setting' of development. It is not conceptualized as a force that can constitute or redirect development stages or sequences" (p.104).

This understanding of context as background to learning rather than an influence on the learning process has been the dominant tradition in adult education literature. Dewey (1938) thought more about learners acting on their environment rather than asking what impact their context has on them. Ingham (1987, p.148) defines learning as "the activity through which a relationship is formed between a person and his or her contexts"; he limits context to the immediate environment, however, and while he implies that the context has an impact on the learner, the scope of that impact is not explored. Jarvis (1987) offers a more sociological perspective on the learning process, arguing that it is "intimately related to the world and affected by it" (p.11), but his model fails to take these contextual factors into account, so the impact of context remains invisible. Mezirow (1991) also acknowledges that adult learning is situated in a social context, but he fails to maintain the linkage between the meaning of an experience and the context in which it arises and by which it is interpreted.

Recent work in developmental theory proposes a contextualist model of development that includes basic sociological principles. Dannefer and Perlmutter (1990), for example, argue that development is a multidimensional process that has both individual and social constituents. They suggest that context or environment is multifaceted: "The 'environment' is clearly not one undifferentiated system, but many analytically distinct subsystems related to each other in complex ways" (p.118). Context, then, must be seen as both highly influential on human development and multidimensional in character.

This contextual paradigm of development has implications for our understanding of learning. These sociologists argue convincingly against conceiving of development as a purely psychological process. Personal growth and development are directly influenced and shaped by multiple contextual factors, and these must be taken into account if that process is to be adequately represented and understood. My study suggests this is likewise true of the learning process.

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A COMMUNITY BUILDING PROCESS: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE MONTANA STUDY

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This case study examined the Montana Study groups and identified the developmental process in which a group of individuals was transformed into a community of people.

Introduction

In the past decade, the sense of community is rapidly being lost in both urban and rural areas of United States. Polarization, fear, and apathy have stopped people from coming together to solve their community problems. What can be done to reverse this trend? What role can adult education play in building community?

The Montana University System in 1944 through funding from the Rockefeller Foundation launched a research project into stabilizing and developing rural communities. Called the Montana Study, the project used the Danish concept of study groups and the Canadian concept of community research. Twelve communities with 20-30 people each went through a ten week study group and research process. Three groups created action groups, while one group remained active up to the present time.

Purpose of This Study

The purpose of the present study was to examine the developmental process the groups went through in creating community. A community is defined as:

> A group of people who are socially interdependent, who participate together in discussion and decision making, and who share certain practices that both define the community and are nurtured by it. The community has a history and so is also defined in part by its memory of its past (Bellah et al., 1985, p. 333).

The key question was as follows: What elements in the Montana Study helped trigger the transformation of individuals into a community of people?

Methodology

The conceptual framework for the present study was the Progressive Philosophy. The Montana Study was an application of the Progressive-Liberal Philosophy for social change.

A case study approach was used to examine the Montana Study. Primary documents in the Rockefeller Foundation Archives, the Montana Historical Society, and Montana State University Archives were historically analyzed. These documents included the records of the community research and minutes of the study groups' meetings.

Also, fourteen people were interviewed about their experiences as participants in the study group and community research process. The information from the two sources was compared to help identify the process through which the groups went.

Historical Overview of the Montana Study

The Montana Study was organized in 1944 as a humanities research project. The researchers were looking for ways in which the humanities in higher education could

> . . . contribute to improvement of life in small rural communities by helping communities assess and develop their economic, social, and cultural resources (Brownell, 1945, p. 2).

The ten week study group and community research process was developed from the Danish Folk Schools, Liverpool Project, the Antigonish Movement, and the Prairie Provinces' Adult Education Projects. The underlying philosophy of the Montana Study was summed up by David Stevens, Director of the Humanities Division, Rockefeller Foundation:

> To strengthen the culture of Democracy, . . . we need to introduce such concepts as those of humanity, integrity, loyalty, and service to one's fellows. . . . We have failed to supply necessary information to aid citizens in solving their own problems of living (Stevens, 1937, p. 438).

The ten week Study was designed around researching the values, history, traditions, and relationships in the community. The groups actively discussed the information they gathered.

The Developmental Process

In examining the process the different study groups went through, three phases of development became apparent including awareness, active involvement, and commitment. "Since these levels are hierarchial, each level is a prerequisite for the next level" (Conti, Counter, Paul, 1991, p. 31).

In the awareness phase, participants learned new information about their community or put old information they had into new perspectives. Socialization was important in this phase. The majority of participants, however, remained passive learners.

Some of the groups then moved into an involvement phase. Participants in this phase became active in doing research, gathering information, and sharing their findings with the whole group. "Out of the discussions, problems with the community began to surface" (Hostetter, 1989). Through the discussion, participants learned they had something valuable to contribute and each person was important in developing a well-rounded perspective on an issue. "The Study was a tool where we could use our skills to help the community" (Floerchinger, 1989).

Participants explored their community's history, traditions, and values. The community research helped participants gain a better understanding of why their community functioned as it did.

> They had dug into the history . . . to create their own literature. They had recorded information about their own past that otherwise would have been lost (Poston, 1950, p. 45).

In Darby, participants began to see how outside exploitation had affected their community.

> We needed to help people to stay. A big outfit [lumber company] came out of Washington and chocked out our little mills. . . . The Montana Study gave us information on logging. It got people talking about possibilities for the community (Hannon, 1990).

Participants in Libby focused on the differences between fears people were experiencing in the community and what was actually occurring there. "Fear and apathy were reflected in how people took care of their property and the community as a whole" (Herrig, 1989).

The third phase was marked by a strong commitment to the community and to community problem-solving. Participants had a strong sense of who they were as a community of people. They identified community values, history, and traditions and used them as guiding principles for doing community problem solving.

> This level of social reconstruction [was] marked by a burning commitment . . . for change and by a strong confidence of these community members in themselves and their ability to create change (Conti, Counter, Paul, 1991, p. 33).

Within these three phases, a group of individuals, each of whom had their own perspectives and goals, went through a transformation to a community of people with common bonds. Scott (1991, p. 266) best described this transformation. "The importance of serving the community became more important than (serving) one's own ego."

The Montana Study helped to create this type of transformation which emphasized achievement as the product of "we" the community rather than individual accomplishment. "We organized the action group. We planted the seed in people" (Floerchinger, 1989).

Characteristics of the Transformation Groups

In comparing the study groups, a number of characteristics marked the transformed groups. The first characteristic was that the groups represented the diversity within the community. Not all community people were participants. However, nonparticipants felt they had representation in the group.

"Circles of Learning" (Horton, 1990, p. 10) were created. Participants actively engaged in the process of information gathering and sharing. They felt an ownership in the information they gathered. They were less involved in fears and more willing to share knowledge with each other.

The groups identified community traditions, values and history. The values became guiding principles for their community problem solving.

> Stories about the community--how it came to be, its hopes and fears, and how its ideals were exemplified by outstanding men and women--defined the community way of life (Counter, Paul, and Conti, 1990, p. 3).

One group identified cooperation as a value that helped save the community during the Depression. Another group discussed how the community had been exploited by outside interest and worked together to prevent that in the future.

The groups worked to find a common ground from which to build a community base.

> The Study was a tool where we could use our skills to help the community. We were once two groups--townspeople and "dumb" farmers. The Study brought us together. They found out we (the farmers) were doing a lot of things they (the townspeople) didn't know about and we (participants) learned a lot about each other (Floerchinger, 1989).

The groups realized they had choices about what happened to their community and that they could control their community's destiny. "The assumption we will work with is that if we want something bad enough, we will get it" (Marsh, 1946, p. 2).

Finally, being involved in the process itself was fun and satisfying to members of the group. "It was a lot of work, but it was a lot of fun. We all had a good time" (Marsh and O'Brien, 1989).

Conclusion

The Montana Study was a catalyst which helped develop community action and development. The Study brought community people together to work through a process where they could learn about their community's value, traditions, and history. The groups went through at least three phases of development. Awareness helped the participants understand the forces affecting their community; involvement created "circles of learners"; and commitment moved participants into community action and change. Not all Montana Study groups experienced the same phase of development. But all groups benefitted from the experience.

In some of the Montana Study groups, there was a transformation, where the group of individuals began to identify themselves as a community of people. The key characteristics of this transformation included the following: a diverse representative group from the community; acknowledgement of a common ground of interest; a shared learning experience; identification of community values, history, and traditions; and a strong sense of power in creating the community's destiny.

This case study can not be generalized to other situations. However, adult educators are finding common themes in research on groups for social and community action. This study then is another piece of information about community building and community learning. Through the wealth of information, we, as adult educators, will be able to create a theory which can be researched and used in developing new community building programs.

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COST-RECOVERY: A CRITICAL ISSUE IN UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

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This paper focuses on cost-recovery as a critical issue in university extension work. It explores the consequences of the cost-recovery mandate and examines this mandate in light of the current shift in the direction of Canadian universities as a whole.

Introduction

Adult education in Canada has a strong tradition as an active force for social change. The Antigonish Movement, Farm Radio Forum, Citizens Forum, the Centre for Community Studies, and the Fogo Island process speak to the richness of our past (Faris, 1975; Kidd, 1950, 1963; Welton, 1987). Today, a debate rages between two distinct types of adult educators: those who see adult education as a vehicle for social change, and those who view adult education as a business where educators compete for new markets and clients.

On the entrepreneurial side of the debate, adult education is viewed as a business where educators compete for new programs and markets. The language focuses on terms such as "competitiveness," "market trends," and "clients." Education is a product that can be bought and sold in the marketplace. On the social change side of the debate, adult educators view adult education as a means to promote social change in society, and use language which includes "social vision," "empowerment," and "reflection." They are highly critical of the entrepreneurial approach and believe that this approach (a) reinforces the status quo, and (b) widens the gap between the rich and the poor.

In the past, Canadian adult education had a social change purpose and vision, however, it became "increasingly entrepreneurial" (Law & Sissons, 1985, p. 70) during the 1980s and now it basically competes with business for clients. The entrepreneurial approach has replaced the social change approach as the main focus of adult education in Canada (Selman, 1985). What critical issues do social change-oriented university extension staff experience in their work? How do they deal with these issues? How can we raise awareness to the importance of these issues in our everyday practice?

These questions form Phase 3 of a longer-term research project. Using a standard qualitative research approach, and working from a social change perspective, I conducted taped interviews with a number of Canadian university extension staff over a three year period. The interviews were conducted as follows:

1. In 1989 (Phase 1), I interviewed 18 extension staff (six women and 12

men) from nine Canadian university extension departments (Cruikshank, 1991b),

2. In 1990 (Phase 2), I interviewed 10 extension staff (six women and four men) from six Canadian university extension departments (Cruikshank, 1991a), and

3. In 1991 (Phase 3), I interviewed seven staff (two women and five men) from five Canadian university extension departments.

All participants approached extension work from a social change perspective. Some were interviewed in more than one phase. All have been given pseudonyms.

The Issue

The main issue that emerged from the interviews centers on cost-recovery. For the most part, university extension departments must cover their costs through fees. The cost-recovery mandate forces extension departments to take an entrepreneurial approach and market courses to individuals. Linda argues:

> Every program has to pay for itself. This is accepted. It's never challenged. It's never discussed how this will impact on the way we work with people, the kinds of programs we do, the kinds of people we work with. It's accepted. A fait accompli. Is this what we were hired to do? To make money?
>
> We've lost our sense of history where we provided a service to the people in the province. Where once we had a bond with people, now it's that corporate philosophy.

Rockhill (1985) argues that university extension departments have lost their original sense of purpose. Where, in the past, extension departments provided some degree of advocacy for adults not normally served by the university, they now focus on "those markets that can bear the high fees necessitated by self-support policies" (p. 154). Extension departments have decided to market programs to two distinct target groups: (a) business and industry, and (b) people who can pay. In doing so, they have made a deliberate decision to ignore marginalized groups. In short, the purpose of university extension departments has shifted from that of serving community learning needs to that of bringing in money.

For Colin, the consequences of taking a marketing approach are serious. He says, "once you start getting into that cost-recovery mode, they don't expect you just to recover costs. They expect a profit. So you start sliding more and more." This viewpoint is echoed by Jim who says:

> I've watched, over the last five - six years, the general movement

> towards programming that makes money. I've watched how hiring decisions are made. The decisions are based on how much money a new person can bring in if that person programs in a specific business area--compared to the person who has just left.
>
> The result is always a one-time only decision. They say, "This time we'll hire one more business programmer, because then we'll get back on track." I've seen it happen over the years. It never gets back on track. Pretty soon you need an applied sciences person and a computer person and so on. The university never stops squeezing. Without an overt attempt to correct it, it will just keep shifting ground. I see that as the long-term problem which we're in the middle of.

The move toward a market education model is not limited to university extension departments. It is part of a deliberate shift in the direction of Canadian universities as a whole.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, the post-war "baby boom" created a demand for university education and, in response, universities went through a period of expansion. Government funding was relatively easy to access. New universities were created. New programs thrived. Social justice issues gained importance in some (but certainly not all) universities.

However, when financial problems began to emerge in the mid-1970s, government funding declined and universities turned elsewhere for money. Since then, the erosion of government funding has resulted in a shift in the direction of universities -- from a liberal arts tradition, which regarded the creation of knowledge for society in general as a primary goal, to a market model approach. Many Canadian universities now openly court funds from business and industry. Harris (1991) states:

> In their search for cash, universities are opening their doors to business. Knowledge that was free, open and for the benefit of society is now proprietary, confidential and for the benefit of private companies. Educators who once jealously guarded their autonomy now negotiate curriculum planning with corporate sponsors. (p. 14)

The search for dollars has resulted in a new "partnership" between universities and corporations. However, it is an unequal partnership.

> Corporations will define the needs, and universities will compete with each other to meet them. As well, universities will have to change some of their principles of work. They must be willing to surrender at

> least some control over research priorities, curriculum design, student admission standards, and rules governing research publications. (Newson & Buchbinder, 1988, p. 60)

Newson and Buchbinder (1988) describe the current move toward, what the universities now call, a "service" university. They explain:

> The vision of the service university builds relations to industry into its very mission. In this context, "service" means a narrow, unidirectional focus on satisfying the needs of the corporate sector, rather than a broad focus on the diverse needs of Canadian society as a whole. (p. 82)

As Donna says, "the universities are just falling in thoughtlessly with a very powerful trend to globalization and to increase the class structure -- globally, nationally and locally. They are now one of the main instruments for increasing the spread among the classes."

While some academics try to resist the changes, others welcome them and actively assist with their implementation. However, the emphasis of Canadian universities is now on economic growth and technology. Academics who hold a social justice vision are in the minority. Most have become marginalized.

The market education model has been applied most vigorously to university extension departments. University extension departments must be financially self-sufficient if they are to survive. In addition to simply marketing courses for people who can pay, extension departments seek funds directly from business and industry. Major units within extension are mandated to provide professional development training for business and industry. In order to fill their coffers, they march to the corporate tune. As Jim says:

> The private sector makes no bones about it. If you want their money, you've got to do what they want.
>
> When I look at my university, I see things going on that are funded externally that we would not have done had we had free choice. But because the money was there, we did them. All of continuing education is open to that because of the reliance on funding.

Margaret Fulton (1991), in a keynote address to a university extension conference, is highly critical of current extension practice. She argues that universities are creating "specialized ignoramuses" and that "we've done it, continue to do it and justify the practice as achieving 'excellence' in a competitive global economy" (p. 3). She asks, "Are we really engaged in 'seeking the Truth,' or have we rather become an extension of big government, and big business?" (p. 3).

However, I wonder if it may be too late to ask this question. Most social change oriented adult educators have left university extension departments for more innovative and socially relevant adult education work. Most extension staff who remain embrace business values. They tend to hire people who reflect their values. As a result, the entrepreneurial mentality now permeates extension work. In concert with the trend in universities as a whole, social change oriented extension staff find themselves marginalized. Their ideas are dismissed. Donna explains:

> The accusations levelled against us are that we are self-righteous, inflexible, out of date, kind of quaint and that we hold on to an impractical ideal that has disappeared.
>
> It's interesting, because people who stand up for (social justice) values are increasingly being portrayed as weird.

Brock believes that his colleagues who hold the entrepreneurial approach tend not to see the value differences as an issue. Because the market model is the dominant approach within extension, they see it as "the way of the world." They see this approach as correct. They view their work as "value-free."

Time and time again, respondents raised this issue. They clearly were frustrated with colleagues who (a) maintained that the market approach was the natural and responsible approach to extension work, and (b) refused to acknowledge the importance of social justice work. As Apps (1985) says, "the dominant paradigm is so ingrained in people that they are often not aware that they subscribe to it. When people are not aware of the dominant paradigm, they see no possible alternative to it" (p. 122). This is reinforced by Jarvis (1985) who argues that in our society "the knowledge and values which favour the elite are regarded as rational, commonsense and even self-evidently true."(p. 89).

Because of the emphasis on the entrepreneurial approach, George believes that merely funnelling more dollars into extension departments would do little to change the direction of these departments. He asks:

> Would we be better off if money was given to the deans of extension units across the country for them to decide which area they should develop? It doesn't look to me like most of those people are about to do community development work or outreach programs. Is that simply because they are under financial pressure? I don't think so.

In essence, deans and directors now tend to be people who hold entrepreneurial values. They agree with the market mentality of the university, or at least, are content to live with it. George continues:

> It doesn't strike me as being a straightforward case of extension dropping this stuff because they stop getting money. It seems to me, in most cases, a lot of these programs stopped long before.

George's perceptions are reinforced by the Canadian Association for University Continuing Education (CAUCE) response to the 1991 report of the "Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education." The Commission was mandated to assess the quality of education in Canadian universities.

The report, commonly called the "Smith Report" clearly supports the market approach when it explains that "'industrial' courses can generate more substantial profits than general interest or other evening courses, while developing a set of grateful companies ready to make donations to the university" (p. 81). The report recommends that the focus of university continuing education be "increasingly involved in ...co-operation with industry and labour" (p. 82). It provides what it calls a "notable" example of co-operative continuing education as the Centre for Aerospace Manpower Activities in Quebec which unifies efforts of industry, CEGEPs and universities in Montreal. It recommends that:

> Provincial governments and industrial organizations should provide "seed money," where necessary, to encourage universities to create continuing education enterprises that can become financially self-sustaining. (p. 83)

In short, the report reduces university extension to "enterprises" whose goal is to make money and to develop "grateful" companies.

How was the Smith Report greeted within the university extension community? A news release issued by CAUCE bleats its pleasure:

> ... (CAUCE) is extremely pleased to see that Dr. Smith was impressed and enthusiastic with the work being done by continuing education units in Canadian universities...
>
> University continuing education can have a great impact on Canada's managers and professionals--the leaders of this country's workforce--and it is they who will improve Canada's economic competitiveness.

Clearly, the entrepreneurial mentality now permeates university extension departments.

Conclusion

As governments continue to slash funding for education, it is anticipated that universities will sink deeper into the market education model and that university administrators will demand more "productivity" (i.e. profits) from extension departments. This must be challenged.

Most university extension staff now embrace a market ideology. They do not recognize the problems associated with this model and do not consider social justice issues to be a critical part of adult education practice. We must raise awareness to the importance of social change work and to the pitfalls of a single focus entrepreneurial approach. Jim says:

> You have to be aware of it, be conscious of it. You have to talk about it with your colleagues, bring it up at conferences like this, challenge people on it all the time.
>
> I think extension units, deans, directors, and so on, have an obligation to value that discussion within their units, even though it may not be their favorite topic. They really owe it to their staff to keep that out there, make it an expectation that this kind of stuff will be discussed.

At the present time, university extension departments lack balance. The emphasis is placed on marketing courses for business and industry. By placing such an emphasis on this approach, extension work "reduces the human to the status of a drone" (Long, 1987. p. 59) and fails to address social concerns. This imbalance cannot be allowed to continue.

Given the economic climate, the market approach will continue to dominate universities for some time. However, even within this framework, universities should be expected to give something back to the communities that spawned them. As Newson and Buchbinder (1988) state, the term "service" university should be expanded to include service to and with all segments of the community.

We must develop a clear, long-term vision of the potential of university extension, a vision which can include both the entrepreneurial and the social change perspectives. We need to bring social change work into the mainstream in order for it to be come an integral part of university extension work. Without this, we will soon become irrelevant.

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ADULT LEARNING IN A RECREATIONAL SETTING

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Recreational learning is a large, uninvestigated area of real-life learning. A naturalistic investigation of fly fishers revealed that learning for recreational purposes is a self-gratifying, fun, and self-directed activity that involved numerous resources and human interaction and led to personal development. This learning strongly supports humanistic educational thought.

Introduction

The most recent emphasis on adult education research has been redirected from adult education to adult learning. Instead of focusing on program structures for educational learning, research is increasingly being aimed at how and what adults do to learn and what other real-life factors enter into the process of adult learning. Research is being centered around the needs of the learner rather than the designs of various programs. This has produced new interests and avenues for research in self-directed learning activities, learning how to learn, and learning in practical real-life situations.

Recent trends in adult learning research have focused on the real-life learning needs of the individual. Real-life learning needs develop from the learner's real-life environment which is also influenced by the social environment (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). Teachers who understand the social foundations, cultural factors, personal background, and economic level of their learners can effectively work with adult learners. Learning environments which reinforce self-concepts, provide for change when needed, and respect the value of the status of the learner will produce the most effective and greatest amount of learning (Brookfield, 1986). This suggests a need for the redefinition of real-life values and meanings to obtain more meaningful and effective learning so that learning activities can be designed with more social reality than is presently being done. With this approach the needs of the adult learner are met because learning strategy is designed and centered about the learner and not entirely with the program structure itself.

Adult learners have a common tendency toward self-directedness in the way they learn (Brookfield, 1986; Tough, 1978). They use experience as a resource in their learning processes and require relevant "realistic" subject matter. This process must be meaningful and relate to past successful learning experience (Brookfield, 1986; Fellenz & Conti, 1989; Tough, 1978). Most adult learners use techniques of self-directed or self-planned learning by setting goals, locating resources, implementing strategies, evaluating progress, and realizing personal value from their efforts (Brookfield, 1986). Tough (1971) defined this same sequence of events as "preparatory steps" and divided them into 26 detailed categories which describe the decisions and pathways that self-planned learners have taken to complete a "learning project".

Historically, studies of adult learning have focussed on those dealing with the individual and those concerned with the educational program. These two streams in the adult education literature can be traced from the classic work of Houle (1961). Houle found that adults participating in continuing education were oriented toward either goal, activity, or learning purposes. One group of researchers interpreted and directed this basic work in the direction of the individual learner. Kidd (1973) suggested than adult learning should be referred to as "mathetics" because this term shifts the emphasis of the educational activity from adult teaching to adult learning with the main intention of assisting the learner in moving from "being" and "becoming" (p. 125). Knowles (1975) outlined the steps for self-directed learning, and Tough (1971) uncovered the extent of adults' involvement in self-directed learning projects. Smith (1987) conceptualized the process of learning how to learn, and Brookfield (1986) emphasized the importance of sociological factors in the teaching-learning process. This stream has fostered the emphasis not only on the individual but also upon the learning taking place in a real-life setting (Fellenz & Conti, 1989).

In the program area, studies in participation in adult learning have been a major area of interest in adult education research, and systematically adult education researchers have built a large base of information on this subject (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982). Johnstone and Rivera (1965) investigated the characteristics of participants in adult education activities while others conducted studies to test Houle's learning orientation typology in different settings (Grabowski, 1976). However, much of the research in this area has centered around the work of Boshier (1971; Boshier & Collins, 1985) and his Education Participation Scale. Other studies have incorporated the concept of self-directed learning by utilizing scales by Guglielmino (1977) and by Oddi (1986). While most of these studies focussed on those who participate in adult education activities, recent studies have begun to investigate the nonparticipants as well (Scanlan & Darkenwald, 1984).

Despite the growing emphasis on learning in real-life settings by adults, nearly all of this past research has been conducted in the formal setting, and almost no concern has been placed on informal participation in adult education. Consequently, much adult education research lacks a research-to-practice application when deciding what problems and questions need to be investigated (Merriam, 1986). Meanwhile, learning for recreational purposes is a rapidly expanding area within the field. Shirk (1990) discovered that many learners pursued informal recreational learning in recreational areas not only for relaxation but also for other reasons as well. Recreational learning involved greater expenditures than any other area of learning. However, recreational learning is a largely uninvestigated area of adult learning. One major recreational learning activity is fly fishing. Fly fishing enthusiasts routinely devote tremendous effort and expense to learn the various aspects of the sport.

Fly fishing is a sport designed to catch fish with artificial lures created from feathers, animal hair or fur, or man-made materials. It is a comprehensive outdoor sport which requires considerable (a) training in fly casting motor skills, aquatic entomology, and fisheries ecology, (b) proficiency in knot tying, and (c) use of specialized equipment. Numerous fly fishers also construct their own artificial flies. "Participation in fly fishing is rapidly growing throughout the world and is considered to be the most technique-intensive sport of recent time" (Randolf, 1988, p.2). According to the Federation of Fly Fishers, Trout Unlimited, and Fly Fisherman Magazine, the sport of fly fishing has increased to record numbers with an estimated 750,000 serious fly fishers in the United States.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to determine how and why adult learners, who are highly motivated to specific recreational informal learning, conduct their learning activities. This included (a) learning resources used, (b) learning strategies, (c) time involved, (d) special equipment most effective in learning, (e) type of learning experiences most effective in the informal recreational setting, and (f) reasons individuals participate in such activities.

This naturalistic study utilized a case study design (Merriam, 1988). Twenty-four experienced fly fishers were interviewed in a variety of settings which included fly-fishing conventions, streamsides, tackle shops, homes, and public campgrounds. Five of those interviewed were women. Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 3 hours with most averaging 1.5 hours. The group ranged in age from 18 to 72 with the following age distribution: under 29--4, 30 to 39--7, 40 to 49--8, 50 to 53--3, and 70 to 72--2. It was composed of various occupational groups: blue collar workers (9) such as carpenters, factory workers, and clerical workers; professionals (6) such as higher education personnel, dentists, and accountants; salespersons (5) such as stock brokers, real estate investment agents, and general sales; retired workers (2); an artist; and a student.

Findings

Fly fishers display distinct learning characteristics. All of the fly fishing enthusiasts that were interviewed were conscious of extensive learning activities in which they engaged in order to be more proficient fly fishers. In addition to being aware of their extensive learning, the intonation in their voice and the eagerness in which they talked about their learning indicated that they considered learning a natural and necessary part of their sport.

Fly fishing enthusiasts use diverse modes in learning about their hobby. While many learn by practical, on-site trial and error, many also seek the advise of experts. It is not uncommon for them to pick up the phone and call a recognized expert in order to find out something they need to know. In addition to experts, they made heavy use of videos, and slide-tape shows are used extensively in group training presentations. All used a variety of modes of acquiring information and were aware that modern technologies have tied the information explosion to their sport. For fly fishers, "there is just no end to the information. For anybody who desires to learn today, it is super, super easy. There is no place on Earth you couldn't get the sort of information you need to get started." In addition, "before we were limited in how we could learn. Now we have access to such incredible information that today they are able to learn everything in 6 months that it took me 15 to 20 years to learn."

Although fly fishers use a variety of sources for learning, they have a special reverence for printed materials. All used a variety of books and magazines for learning about fly fishing. "Magazines are great. You cannot read the written word and not learn something!" Many talked about building their own personal libraries of fly fishing materials. "I have built a fine library," and "you acquire a library. If you have limited means, you cherish every book you are able to go down and get that was written by someone that you feel was one of the greatest." The advantage of having a personal library is that "once you develop a library your resources are so much greater than you can have on a videotape. I'm surprised at how little knowledge you actually have on a one hour video; it's limited. But with books I can pick out things I have been thinking about. Lots of times I have to reread it." Besides, "books and libraries are such a cheap way to learn things." Reading is recommended to others, and personally "I read every damn thing I could get my hands on that was about fly fishing."

Fly fishing enthusiasts also rely heavily on human resources. While the actual act of fly fishing is done in solitude, fly fishers love to talk about their sport to other enthusiasts and to share information. Communicating with others is a treasured and valuable way to learn new things and to get feedback on new ideas. Whether it is at fishing conventions, in the tackle shop, or at streamside, the "exchange of knowledge is ongoing." Fly fishers learn from others in their clubs and organizations, and they have learned to "trust the opinions of others." They know that "you can hit a cord within a guy if you tell him you are a fisherman." By using human resources, they can learn things that are not available from any other source; "to be a good fisherman, you have to learn to read the water, and the only way you're going to learn to read the water is from a guy who knows how to read water. He takes you and shows you the lay of fish." To be effective, the numbers involved in these tutoring or group sessions should be small to allow for private attention and meaningful interpersonal interaction. When these conditions are met, it is not uncommon to hear, "I think I learned more from him in two days....He was so good that it gave me a renewed interest in learning more. He gave me a new standard to rise to." Thus, human interaction is an integral part of learning for this recreational activity.

Closely related to the use of human resources is a heavy reliance of learning through the demonstration method. Demonstration is used as an instructional method because it helps fly fishers "to see visually how we do it and why we do it." Demonstrations not only make the learning concrete, but they honor the knowledge and skills of the person sharing the information. It is one thing to have others provide knowledge, but it is extremely more powerful to have them actually show what they know and how they do it. This process elevates the learning from the lower levels of Bloom's taxonomy such as knowledge and comprehension to the higher levels of synthesis and evaluation. However, more importantly, this method supports the human interaction and trust that is an inherent part of this informal learning network.

For fly fishing enthusiasts, learning and recreation are inseparable. A sense of pride and accomplishment from learning about the valued activity and the recreational activity itself are all tied into one; the recreation is directly related to the constant learning. Fly fishing is seen as a challenge. Rather than seeing fish as dumb, instinctual quarry to be stalked, fly fishers personify the trout with intelligence and "try to get thinking like a fish--to get in the mode where you literally can understand the fish." Catching the fish thus becomes a contest, a "game", between two intelligent players; "any time you raise one [trout] to the top of the water, it's fun. That is the ultimate--to say, `Brother, I've fooled you. I've brought you up to the top.'"

However, this challenge does not foster competition. In a competitive situation, one trains to improve in order to win. In recreational learning, the challenge stimulates introspection. Here one learns for personal development. Fly fishing "is like big game hunting except that it makes hunting seem easy compared to finding a big old trout that is working some place and presenting the fly to him. Sometimes you win, and sometimes you lose the game. But in the end, you have the choice of releasing the quarry or not. That added dimension makes it more interesting. I like having that choice."

The element of choice was a common theme mentioned by fly fishers. Fly fishing involves a wide spectrum of techniques. Each area is so comprehensive that specialization in one area is appropriate. Therefore, "there is a lot of choice. You set up the sport the way you want to and [then learn what you need to know]." In this setting, "every guy has his own groove. No two fly fisherman are alike." Once an area is selected, "there is a smorgasbord of things. You chose what you want to know. You get interested in certain aspects of the sport. It's like a cafeteria. You get to pick and choose. You find the area that fascinates you. That's what education is. The more things that you can expose a person to the better the chance they will find what is totally fascinating to them."

Fly fishers demand excellence in their fishing, and that is achieved through perfection in their learning. "When you went fishing, you wanted it to be the best, so I spent 4 or 5 hours a week perfecting something I wanted to do....I'm much more precise in fly fishing than in my work....I studied it harder because I looked forward to every moment on the water." Constantly learning is important because "you look at something you did, and you try to do it better." The standard for *better* is simply *perfect*.

"Perfection in casting is probably what takes you to fly fishing. To learn different casts, to perfect them for the different situations you run into on the stream." This perfection is seen on the stream: "Then you learn how to appropriately put the fly in there with no drag on the line so that you fool that rascal. You make him come on [the line]." It also transfers to other areas of learning and life: "The way in which my profession as a dentist progresses is so close to how one would get better at fly tying that it's almost the same process. It's developing a knowledge within your mind that you can translate to what you can do with your hands. The hands cannot do what the mind cannot conceive. First the mind must conceive of the idea and how it can be accomplished. Then the hands have to practice it."

One means of moving toward perfection is through constant self-evaluation. Performance related to the fishing act and related activities such as fly tying are continuously monitored with a keen eye on improvement and exploration into new areas. For example, one fly tyer commented that when inspecting some of his previously tied flies, his technique "was poor by comparison to what I could do now. I felt guilty about that, but a friend of mine said I should feel guilty if it's not better. That has stuck with me as a philosophy because it's so true. You should feel guilty if your first was your best effort. Now you have gotten a lot better -- noticeably better." When doing this self-assessment, it is not uncommon to realize that "I saw leaps in my own tying in the last 6 months. It was probably due to him. It was somebody else showing the way and telling me that I hadn't arrived. (Laugh). There is still more to know!" To venture into these new areas, "I tie a lot of flies not to use for fishing but just to show what you can do with the materials; how can it be used....It's a separate sport. Sometimes I tie for fishing; other times I tie for my own enjoyment."

Despite stereotypes about fanatical fisherman, catching fish is not the most important thing. Instead, what is treasured is the total experience of being out on the river, and learning is an integral part of this. The out-of-doors is a dynamic workshop where they can learn and experiment on their own terms. For them, learning is simply fun. It not only makes them better at fly fishing, but it also contributes to their personal development. "It gives you internal satisfaction that you have been able to improve at something you enjoy doing and is important to you." It "gives me great pleasure...to look back in my box of flies that I have tied 2 or 3 years ago and see my improvement." However, this sense of personal development goes far beyond private, internal feelings. In one sense, it relates to all of nature: "On the stream you see a wholeness of the universe -- of nature. Each human by himself is not very important....When I'm on the stream I realize I'm not any more important in the good Lord's scheme of things than the caddis coming off the water, the fish in the water, or the trees. That oneness is what I look for and the fact that I'm insignificant and just another piece of it. The river is going to be flowing along long after I'm dead and gone. It's not in any way distressing to me but quite the opposite--it is very quieting to me." In another sense, it relates to all of mankind and to posterity: "Fly tying is the same way because we are passing on our knowledge to new tyers. I have a grandson now that is two-and-a-half. He sits on my lap, and we tie together. To pass that on is the truest form of immortality that man has any hope of achieving. To remember the fishers and the tyers that have gone before me, and hopefully if I can add just a little to that knowledge, that is plenty. It gives me lots of good feelings. It really does. I find that comforting at stressful times."

Thus, fly fishing and all of the related activities which include learning contribute to a person's quality of life and personal satisfaction. It is an activity that allows the best of human qualities to surface and to be utilized, and in times of stress it fosters self-control of ones's humanity. It allows us to stretch to our limits because "we are subject to limitations within our own mind -- by what we think we can accomplish." It adds tranquility to life: "I get calm when I get on the river. It gets rid of the stress. The flow of the river calms me." It serves as a powerful stress clinic because "we live in a high speed society and recreation whether it be fly fishing, photography, bird watching, or whatever you want to do, it is becoming increasingly important to relieve the stress that we have in our lives. Not everyone can live in the mountains anymore by themselves. We live in a very structured society. There has to be that time when we can feel peaceful and quiet and do the things that are meaningful to us. I feel this is as important as anything else we do."

Conclusion

A major area of adult learning is for recreational purposes. Unlike much of the learning that takes place in controlled, formal settings, this learning is compulsive and a natural part of fully expressing and developing one's humanity. It is fun and self-gratifying for the learner and is a self-directed activity. While it respects and relies heavily on traditional materials in the written mode and utilizes other materials made available through modern technology, it especially cherishes the use of human resources.

Adult learning for recreational purposes strongly agrees with the assumptions of the humanistic school of educational thought. It assumes that there is a multiple reality which is best defined by the perceptions of each individual learner. In fly fishing, learners define the field as broadly or narrowly as they see fit, and use this definition as a parameter for organizing their own learning. Learners are assumed to be active and are entrusted with responsibility for directing their own learning. The curriculum consists of a multitude of items from real-life situations and can be learned by utilizing sources which range from the classics to nontraditional networks. Most of all, this type of learning places a high value on other human beings. Others are trusted for their knowledge and asked to share by demonstrating their expertise. Knowledge is constantly and openly shared. While the internal goal is for perfection for personal development and satisfaction, fly fishing is conducted within a community of other enthusiasts in which open and friendly communication is a common characteristic. "I may be dead wrong, but I know fly fishers that are plumbers, those that are trash haulers, and all the way up to doctors and what not. Yet, I don't think I've ever met a truly dumb fly fisher. It's a sport that hooks the inquisitive nature of man to want to know things. The beauty is that you can never know it all. You can never understand it all. So everyone can be right!"

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WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE VALUE OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS: WHAT'S IN IT FOR THEM?

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Feminist scholars have explored the reality of women's work with particular attention paid to the aspects of economic exploitation and social devaluation. Educational programs proliferate which purport to enable women through vocational training to improve their socioeconomic and/or social status. Additionally, the career choices of women often represent preconceptions about "women's work" shaped by cultural stereotypes, family and peer pressure, and the absence of alternative role models. Individual choices have also been constrained by unconscious societal discrimination and workplace structure (Ferguson, 1991; Rhode, 1990).

In this study we investigated the phenomenon of women's awareness of gender, racial and/or social class constraints which may limit the improvement of their socioeconomic status despite participation in a vocational training program. We sought to probe possible relationships among women's perceptions of accessible educational and career options, their selection of and participation in a vocational training program, and their perceptions of potential career benefits following completion of the program. This research was conducted over a period of six months, in two phases.

Methodology

Twenty-one women ranging in age from 20 to 55 participated in the study. Eleven of the women are Caucasian, three are Mexican-American, two are Asian-American, three are African-American, one is Rumanian-American, and one is Native-American. Eight are married and 13 are single or divorced. Most have children, some grown and some still living at home. All of the women are or were at some time enrolled in a grant-funded vocational training program designed for the underemployed and offered at an urban community college.

In the initial phase ten women were interviewed in-depth. Research questions concerned their 1) reasons for enrolling in the program; 2) expectations about securing higher status employment and higher salaries following completion of the program; and 3) observations concerning the disproportionately high number of women enrolled in the program as compared to men.

These interviews were transcribed, and preliminary analysis resulted in the emergence of three primary types of "awareness of constraints," the phenomenon under investigation, including 1) family/significant other responsibilities and support/non-support; 2) the social status and economic value of "women's work" and 3) the restrictive lines of class, gender, or race.

The second phase of the study included eleven interviews, narrower in scope and focused on the three primary types of awareness of constraints mentioned above. Seven women were interviewed who had recently enrolled in the program. Four had either completed or had withdrawn from the program. Our goal in choosing these particular women was to include perspectives that might shed light on women's expectations pertaining to the program, as well as to indicate whether or not those expectations had been met.

Analysis of the Data

Polkinghorne (1983) notes that the term "descriptive" is used to refer to a group of research endeavors in the human sciences which focus on describing the basic structures of lived experience. Included in this group is the psychological phenomenological methodology of Giorgi (1985a, 1985b) which guided the analysis of data in this research study.

Giorgi (1985b) notes that "to be phenomenological, in general, means to return to the phenomena themselves, to obtain a description of those phenomena, to submit them to imaginative variation, and then obtain an eidetic intuition of their structures" (p. 26). In psychological phenomenology, these "structures" are intuited from "meaning units" understood to be constituents of a phenomenon.

A constituent is accepted as being context-laden: dependent upon historical, social, and meaning-giving factors. "Meaning units", then, do not exist in text itself, but are constituted in relation to the attitude and set of the researchers (Giorgi, 1985a).

Giorgi's model provided a framework within which to analyze the data. First, the interview protocols were read in their entirety in order to get a "sense of the whole." It was through this process, combined with some rudimentary identification and coding of recurrent themes that we were able to arrive at the three "awareness of constraints" types discussed above.

Next, we endeavored to discriminate the "meaning units" in each protocol while focusing on the phenomenon "awareness of constraints." The women's experiences were described in the simplest possible way as presented to us, in their language, and within the limits of our understanding of the meaning of their words. At this point we strove to avoid taking the further step of stating that these "meaning units" are what they present themselves to be, or that they are what they mean to us. This step in the process is what Giorgi (1985b) refers to as phenomenological "reduction" (p. 43).

In the third step of the analysis we attempted, through the process of reflection and imaginative variation, to understand the meaning of the experiences to the women. This was critical in discovering which "meaning units", or constituents must be present in order for an experience to belong to the phenomenon "awareness of constraints." Those constituents identified as essential to the phenomenon became part of the "structure" of the phenomenon of "awareness of constraints." Transformation of the "meaning units" from the naive language of the women into the framework of our phenomenological investigation occurred at this point in the analysis.

The final step involved synthesis and integration of our interpretation of the transformed "meaning units" into a description of the structure of the phenomenon "awareness of constraints."

Results

We found the structure of the phenomenon "awareness of constraints" to be comprised of three essential constituents: 1) recognition of discontinuity between the framework that a woman has come to accept as natural in her everyday experience, and some occurrence, event, or intrusion into that everyday experience; 2) reflection on the discontinuity; and 3) response to reflection on the discontinuity.

Structure alone, however, is not sufficient for describing a given phenomenon. Polkinghorne (1983) asserts that structure addresses the "how" of an experience, while "types" and "levels" are ways of orienting oneself with respect to the structure. Level refers to the degree of presence of a structure, and type to changes in appearance of the structure (p. 211). We considered level and type as well as structure in the analysis of data.

In fleshing out the constituents, types, and levels in the phenomenon we immediately became aware of the degree to which they are intertwined with one another. It was difficult to separate the types of awareness from the structures of awareness for separate analysis. Additionally, the types of awareness were inextricably linked to each woman's historical makeup. This was not unexpected in that the types of awareness emerged from preliminary analysis of the data rather than as elements of a pre-existing theory superimposed on the women's experiences.

Recognition of Discontinuity

Recognition of discontinuity seemed to us an essential component of the phenomenon. The women's comments suggested that their expectations about family or work life had not been met. Recognition of discontinuity, then, is essentially a sense that things are not the way they should be. Many of the interviews reflected this sense of discontinuity either overtly or covertly. In some cases it was difficult, if not impossible, to locate an isolated instance of "discontinuity." It seemed more often to be a generalized feeling which was interwoven in the fabric of the woman's life as a whole. Again, this fits with the notion that none of these constituents can be isolated from the situatedness of the woman and her particular history as a whole.

For example, Bonnie "just tried to be a good wife" and to "set up things to where we wouldn't be in debt." Bonnie clearly experienced discontinuity between her expectations of proper spousal relations and what actually occurred. Bonnie discovered that her husband had concealed information from her regarding their financial situation and that the couple had nearly lost their house.

By contrast, Betty's sense of discontinuity seems less focused on one particular life event. Betty indicated that her motivation for returning to school emerged from watching the difficulties encountered by her sister, who was left with "absolutely nothing - no money, no skills...literally with nothing" following the death of her husband. Her defiance of stereotypical gender roles, however, preceded this event. This is reflected in her insistence that all of her children, male and female, take woodshop, metal shop, automechanics, and cooking in high school. Betty also spoke of her full support of two daughters who became barbers.

Reflection

The second constituent which we believe to be present in our phenomenon is that of reflection. That is, after one recognizes discontinuity, one engages in some form of reflection upon that discontinuity. One spends energy wondering why the discontinuity occurred, what it means, and whether it is due to one's own actions or outside forces.

The extent of reflection among the women interviewed varied widely. Some appeared to have engaged in very little reflection while others clearly had given much thought to their situation, considering why things are as they are, and whose interests are served by the status quo. Also, some women had clearly given thought to how change could be brought about, if in fact changes in the current social structure and situation for women are possible.

Claudia, when asked about pay differentials between men and women in equivalent jobs, stated clearly that "it has to do with the way tradition has been all along" and indicated that the reason for limited opportunities for tuition free programs for women is that "they want to keep us at a level that they think they can handle us."

Other women, like Ella, were vague about the origins of observed discontinuities. Ella, when asked why men don't seem to enroll in the program, merely responds with "I don't know...maybe they think it's a woman's kind of job..." Despite her uncertainty it is important to note that Ella appeared to be aware of the traditional division of labor based on gender.

Response

The third constituent of the phenomenon we originally thought to be action/non-action. We then asked ourselves whether or not one had to act in order to be aware. Subsequent reflection on this issue and our interviews resulted in identification of the constituent "response." While some women had higher overt levels of response or resultant action than others, we made no attempt to establish a causal relationship between this and other constituents of the phenomenon as manifest in any particular woman.

Additionally, in the analysis we found that the concept of action/non-action was clearly too simplistic. There was much more going on in terms of women's responses than merely acting or not acting. We found that, generally, the responses clustered around three notions: 1) taking action, 2) maintaining a "holding pattern" within an attitude of resignation and 3) engaging in retro-action.

Clearly all of the women interviewed had taken action in at least one respect - they had all chosen to enroll in this vocational program. A number of women, including Jane and Claudia, spoke of severing relationships with husbands and boyfriends who belittled their intelligence and ability and interfered with their attempts to further their education. Jane's response to her ex-husband's assertion that she would never be able to make it without him was to say "watch me, buddy." Claudia told of the triumphant moment when she passed her G.E.D. test and "shoved it" in the face of her boyfriend, and then "got rid of him and traded him in for a new one."

By contrast, women in "holding patterns" exhibited a certain resignation to their circumstances. Some lacked the financial resources to enter their preferred academic programs. These women indicated that because the vocational training program was free they would "take what they can get" and make the best of it. Darlene said "I'm just to where I'm exhausted, you know. I'm willing to take every little bit I can get now. Before I wanted to strive for the most and now I'm like any little bit is good to me..." Darlene has dropped out of several programs due to lack of the financial resources to complete them. She began with the hope of becoming an attorney, but after taking ten years to "even get started" she reined in her expectations about what she could realistically expect to accomplish.

Finally, some women engaged in what we called retro-action. Following a period of reflection, they either abdicated responsibility for possible action within their situations or engaged in self-blame. Some, like Tracey and Donella, spoke of letting the will of god control their destinies. Others, like Ella, Emma, Patya, and Rammie indicated that cultural differences account for their return to acceptance of what initially surfaced as discontinuity. Bonnie appeared to blame herself for her difficulties, and concluded that "you can't whine about problems, but must work hard and try to take care of yourself."

Discussion

It is interesting to note that the first three types of awareness of constraints noted above emerged from a preliminary analysis of the first ten interviews. A fourth, awareness of financial constraints, was accepted as a given in this particular group of women, which ironically resulted in its omission from our preliminary analysis.

None of these four types of "awareness of constraints" has gone unmentioned in the literature pertaining to the education of women. For example, a review of the research on "reentry women," suggests that the constraints encountered by women reentering "higher education" are no different than those described by the women in our study. Ekstrom (1972) groups these into a) institutional barriers, including admissions and financial aid practices; b) situational barriers, including family responsibilities, financial need, and societal pressures; and c) dispositional barriers, including fear of failure, ambivalence about educational goals, level of aspiration, passivity, dependence, and feelings of inferiority.

Issues pertaining to the social status and economic value of "women's work" have been widely addressed both in feminist literature and in sociological studies pertaining to work (Sanders, 1988; Kessler-Harris, 1990; Ferguson, 1991). Kessler-Harris (1990) notes that "as women struggle to achieve equality in the labor market, the wages that measure their progress creep frustratingly slowly toward the goal of parity with those of men" (p. 1).

The importance of identification of these four types of awareness of constraints became apparent as we began to analyze interviews from the second phase of our study. Careful reflection on each woman's experience of the phenomenon under investigation allowed us to get a fuller picture of the types of awareness of constraints and of how awareness is constituted in her world. Our reflection revealed the levels, or intensity and degree, to which the various constituents were evidenced. Thus, structure, levels, and types of the phenomenon were brought into focus.

Implications for Adult Educators

If vocational training programs are to be successful in improving the socioeconomic status of women, educators must take into consideration the constraints faced by women as they pursue their educations. Several ethical issues must also be raised. Do these women all belong in a vocational training program, or is their potential for higher education being overlooked due to apparent social class? Historically, women of lower social classes have been "tracked" at a very early age into vocational rather than college preparatory coursework. To what extent are these programs merely perpetuating the injustice of "tracking?" If vocational training is appropriate, why aren't women tracked into electronics, automechanics, or other traditional "men's" jobs where the pay levels are significantly higher? Why are women frequently channelled into low-paying jobs traditionally defined as "women's work?"

Who is counseling women into and out of these vocational training programs? Many vocational training programs are supported by federal or state grants. Program administrators and teachers have a vested interest in maintaining or increasing high enrollment figures in their programs; reason would suggest that they may be the least appropriate persons to counsel women in the process of considering educational and career options, though they often function in this capacity.

A related issue is that of supporting educational and counseling interventions for the purpose of stimulating personal or social change. While we believe that women should be made aware of the constraints inherent in vocational training programs, we acknowledge that as educators within the system we do not necessarily assume risks equal to those of potential program participants. Attempts to stimulate awareness of constraints through counseling, whether within or from outside the confines of the program itself, might lead to increased discouragement, frustration, and for some women, loss of what they may perceive to be their narrow window of opportunity.

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TYPES OF ABE/GED STUDENTS BY OUTCOME OF ENROLLMENT: CHARACTERISTICS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAM PLANNING

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This study was conducted to learn more about post-enrollment patterns of participation in ABE. Exploratory analysis was conducted of an entire participant population for one ABE program for a two year period of enrollment. Discussion focuses on the specific patterns of post-enrollment participation identified, participant characteristics for each pattern, the concept of the "career GED participant", and implications for research and practice in ABE.

Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this exploratory study was to determine the extent to which systematic differences may exist among Adult Basic Education (ABE) participants who have different patterns of post-enrollment participation, or outcomes of enrollment (OOE). An examination of differences among ABE participants by OOE group may contribute to our understanding of patterns of post-enrollment participation in ABE and the various factors that may be associated with these patterns of participation, particularly patterns of withdrawal or sporadic participation. Understanding the various patterns of participation will also help identify and address the unique curricular and instructional needs of participants in each of the groups.

Outcome of enrollment (OOE) was defined relative to the participants' goals for enrolling in the ABE program and was based on whether, at the time of the study, they had completed their goals, were still continuing in the program, or had withdrawn from the program. A tentative typology of six OOE groups was constructed; GED completers, other completers, continuers, 12- participants, 12+ participants, and stopouts. The study then sought to determine the extent to and the ways in which participants in each of these groups systematically differed across groups. Emphasis was placed on the identification of differences that were practically meaningful for curriculum and instructional planning in ABE.

Rationale and Theoretical Perspective

Houle (1961) was one of the first researchers in adult and continuing education to conceptualize adult learners utilizing the notion of "typologies" and to ground this typology in empirical work. Since then, the notion has been used by researchers to better understand and predict various phenomena in adult learning, such as participation and motivation (Courtney, 1992), and styles or preferences for learning. In ABE, researchers have attempted to characterize participants or potential participants into groups or categories, based on such factors as life styles

(Martin, 1987), psychological development (Martin, 1984), reasons for participation (Beder, 1990), motivational profiles (Beder & Valentine, 1990), deterrents to participation (Hayes, 1988), perceived need for functional literacy skills (Hayes & Valentine, 1989), and resistance to the perceived culture represented by ABE programs (Quigley, 1990). An assumption behind much of this work is that identification and understanding of the various types of learners may help us provide more meaningful and relevant educational experiences for ABE participants.

Most of these previous studies, however, have focused on either adults who are currently enrolled in an ABE program or who have not enrolled. With the exception of Quigley (1990) and Martin (1988), relatively few studies in ABE have attempted to focus on those who have withdrawn from the program or who demonstrate irregular participation over a period of two or more years. In addition, these earlier studies often classify individuals on the basis of psychosocial characteristics with little attempt to correlate these findings with what actually happens to them if and when they enroll in ABE.

Obvious patterns of OOE, however, are evident to even the casual observer of ABE programs. These patterns form the conceptual framework (i.e. a typology of OOE) used in this study for examining differences among ABE participants. Some participants complete their goals and do so in a relatively short period of time. The great majority of these enroll to pass the GED (GED completers). A much smaller group complete other goals (other completers) and are often made up of individuals who have a high school diploma and are enrolling to "brush up" on their basic skills. Another group of participants, well known to ABE teachers, come for a period of time, stop coming for weeks or months, and then re-enroll and start coming again (stopouts). This pattern of periodic participation may extend over several years before the individuals actually complete their goals. Another group persist in the program for long periods of time (continuers). Sometimes referred to as "persisters", there is precious little empirical information available on these individuals. Finally, many individuals who enroll stop coming after some period of time (noncontinuers). Some will eventually re-enroll again in the program (stopouts) but many never return to ABE. Governmental reporting requirements for ABE provide a somewhat artibrary way of viewing this group more specifically. Some leave after attending only a few hours (12- noncontinuers), while others will leave after that attending fairly regularly for several weeks (12+ noncontinuers).

These six groups, then, formed the basis for our tentative typology of ABE participants, based on OOE. The focus of this study was to determine the extent to and ways in which individuals in these different OOE groups systematically differ from one another, relative to their OOE group. Using previously described models of participation and dropout as a theoretical base, we investigated the relationship of socioeconomic, academic, situational, psychosocial, and programmatic variables (Jha,1991) with outcomes of enrollment in ABE.

Data Source and Methods

The sample consisted of 2168 adults enrolled during a two year period in an ABE/GED program located in a moderate-sized, midwestern city. No English as a Second Language students were included in our population and rigorous steps were taken to insure that all enrollments identified represented different participants. Data were obtained from student records maintained by the program on 54 variables. Descriptive statistics, including medians and frequencies, were used to characterize the different OOE groups on 17 selected variables. The variables were then examined across OOE groups to determine relatively large differences in the value of these variables. Because of the number of variables and groups being manipulated and because many of the variables of interest were nominal in nature, inferential statistics were not attempted in this study. Rather, we were interested in identifying obvious differences in this single population which may be practically meaningful, and which could then serve as a basis for future hypothesis testing. Analysis consisted of identifying patterns of differences within a given OOE group that appeared to distinguish the participants in these groups from the other groups.

Results

The population of 2168 ABE participants in the program studied was distributed across OOE groups as follows: a) GED completers - 17.9%; b) other completers - 4.2%; c) continuers - 9.6%; d) 12- noncontinuers - 36.7%; e) 12+ noncontinuers - 28.5%; and e) stopouts - 3.2%. The results of our analysis across these groups for selected variables is provided in Table 1. The specific results of the analysis for each group are discussed below.

GED completers. Several variables sharply distinguish this group from the other five OOE groups. Relative to these groups, GED completers tend to be much younger, less likely to be a member of a minority group, less likely to be making less than $10,000 annually, more likely to score higher on entry level reading and math, much more likely to identify passing the GED and much less likely to identify improvement in reading or math as reasons for enrollment. These participants were enrolled in the program for a shorter period of time and were less likely to have been enrolled in more than one year prior to the study. In general, participants in this group are young, have a relatively high level of educational achievement and are on a "fast track" to the GED.

Other completers. Relative to the other non-GED groups, participants in this OOE group tend to have a higher grade completion (many have high school diplomas) and higher reading and math scores. They are less likely to identify the GED and more likely to identify improvement of reading and math and getting into college as reasons for enrollment. The picture that emerges of this group is that of participants with a relatively high level of educational achievement, more than six years older than their GED counterparts, interested in improvement of basic skills, and planning to continue in postsecondary education.

Continuers. The proportion of minority group members in this group is twice that of the GED group and almost 50% more than the completer group. Next to the 12+ noncontinuers, this group has the highest proportion of individuals identified as having special needs. They also have the lowest entry level math and reading scores and the highest median number of hours completed in the program. They are much more likely than any of the other groups, with the exception of the stopout group, to have been enrolled in the program prior to the study. Almost one in two have been enrolled in three or more years prior to the study. In summary, these participants are older, with a relatively high proportion of minority representation, have the lowest educational achievement, have a relatively high proportion of students identified with special needs, and have been in the program far longer than members of the other groups.

Stopouts. Next to the GED completers, this group is the most differentiated by the variables examined in the study. Although this group is similar in age to all but the GED group, it has the highest proportion of minority representation and 40% higher than the study population as a whole. The proportion of participants with special needs in this group is exceeded only by the 12+ and continuer groups. The stopouts have the smallest median number of hours attended, next to the 12- group. Approximately 94% of this group has been enrolled in three or more years prior to the study. Participants in this group, relative to the other groups, are also much more likely to identify job related reasons and personal satisfaction as reasons for enrolling. In addition, the proportion of participants identifying college as a reason for enrollment is exceeded only by the other completer group and is one-third higher than the proportion for 12- noncontinuers, the group with the third largest proportion of participants identifying college as a reason for enrollment.

The noncontinuing groups. With a few exceptions, participants in the 12- and 12+ noncontinuing groups do not appear to be readily distinguished from the other non-GED groups. They are the least likely of all the groups to have been enrolled in more than a single year prior to the study. This group also has, however, the largest proportion of participants reporting incomes less than $10,000. The 12+ group has the highest proportion of participants identified as having special needs and the second highest proportion of participants who are minority group members. These differences, however, do not readily distinguish them from the other OOE groups or from each other. Relative to the study population as a whole, they are similar in age, representation of women, proportion of minorities, income, employment, academic achievement, prior enrollments, and reasons for enrolling.

Discussion

The data presented here provide considerable, although not unequivocal, support for the idea that important and meaningful differences exist across the six OOE groups used in this study. At least four of the six OOE groups appear to be readily distinguishable with the variables included in this study. A small proportion of new ABE enrollees take the GED test within a relatively short period of time following enrollment and become GED completers. They are relatively young, well prepared and focused on the GED. Participants in another very small group - the other completers - characteristically have a high school diploma and will be interested only in improving specific skills. Participants in this group are similar in several respects to the GED completers. As a group, however, they are less well prepared academically, reflected in the higher average number of hours attended, relative to the GED completers. GED and other completers face fewer socio-economic, racial, academic, or other barriers to achieve their goals than many of their peers in the other OOE groups. These participants, however, comprised only 20% of the program's population.

For almost 80% of new enrollees, their patterns of post-enrollment participation reflect more of a struggle to attain their goals. Many don't succeed. These participants are somewhat older and tend to face more socio-economic, racial, and academic barriers, reflected in both patterns of persistence and attrition. Approximately 10% of those included in the study were still enrolled at the end of the study period. As a group, the continuers have the lowest math and reading scores and among the highest proportions of poor and adults with special needs. Academic, socio-economic, and psychosocial factors contribute to difficulties they experience in working towards their goals. Of this group, 19% attended more than 100 hours, more than twice the proportion for any other group. The upper range of hours attended for this group was 605. Many of these participants stay with the program struggling towards their goals, but we know little about their progress or the nature of their persistence.

Much more information is needed about the patterns of post-enrollment participation among the noncontinuers and stopouts. Our analysis, however, provides a basis for some speculation as to what might be happening with these participants. Within the two year study period, approximately 65% of those enrolled left before completing their goals and did not return within the study period. Another three percent of those enrolled withdrew, re-enrolled, and then withdrew again within the study period, demonstrating a pattern of stopout participation stretching over several years. This is eloquently illustrated by one of our noncontinuing participants who told us that she makes a point of enrolling in ABE every year. It is possible that, at some point, 12-participants will re-enroll. Only 6% of the 12- group, however, was enrolled in three or more years prior to the study, suggesting that relatively few will return within the near future. For the 12+ group, this proportion is 11%, indicating somewhat more willingness to re-enroll. Re-enrollment is even more evident in the stopout group, where 16% had enrolled in three or more years prior to the study.

Thus , a relatively small proportion of the noncontinuing group appear to be willing to re-enroll. We also noticed that the 12- group, as a whole, is two years younger than the 12+ group, indicating that some of today's 12- noncontinuers may be tomorrow's 12+ noncontinuers. This suggests several patterns of post-enrollment participation for new enrollees who are somewhat younger, academically capable of completing their goals, but who do not quickly do so. Many will withdraw before completing 12 hours of instruction. Probably only a minority of the 12- group will seek to re-enroll. Some may do this within a year, but many will wait for two or three years. Now older, they may stay with the program longer than 12 hours but many will still withdraw before completing their goals (12+ noncontinuers). What happens to them and the other 12- participants who do not re-enroll is not at all clear. Obviously, much more research in the form of prospective and follow-up studies are desperately needed.

Conclusion

Much remains about patterns of post-enrollment participation that we know relatively little about. Our study suggests that, for some, participation may be a kind of short term career in pursuit of the GED. We do not know about long term participants or why individuals withdraw, or why they demonstrate stopout patterns of participation. Data on the variables studied here clarified patterns of post-enrollment participation, but they tell us relatively little about why participants make the decisions that they do. For this, intensive, time-consuming, and expensive qualitative and prospective studies are needed. It is essential that we develop a deeper understanding of how 12-, 12+, and stopout individuals view their participation in and withdrawal from ABE, the broader socio-cultural contexts in which this participation is being played out, and how these cultures of ABE programs relate or don't relate to these specific contexts.

Footnote

1The "continuers" are not obviously a homogeneous group. Some participants who enrolled shortly before the conclusion of the study period go on to quickly complete their goals. Because they were still enrolled when the study ended, they were labeled in this study as "continuers". Most of these probably make up the low end of the range of hours attended that was observed for this group (2 hours). Their inclusion in this category may be considered as an artifact and a limitation of the methodology.

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Table 1 follows on page 74

Table 1
Selected Information on the ABE Population Across OOE Groups

	Entire Population	GED Completers	Other Completers	Continuers	12-	12+	Stopouts
Median Age	25.0	21.0	27.5	27.0	25.0	27.0	25.0
% Women	51.6	54.5	51.1	50.0	50.3	51.9	53.6
% Minority	20.0	11.7	16.3	22.2	20.6	23.7	27.9
% < 10,000	66.8	54.4	58.2	68.0	74.2	66.5	70.6
% Employed	51.3	54.6	56.0	51.7	51.4	48.3	51.5
% Special Needs	42.0	35.1	39.1	47.1	37.2	51.1	42.0
Median Grade Level	10.0	10.0	12.0	10.0	11.0	10.0	10.0
Median Reading	10.0	10.9	10.8	8.8	10.0	9.4	9.1
Median Math	8.1	9.2	8.3	7.4	7.9	7.7	7.9
Hours Attended	12.0	16.0	20.3	27.3	5.0	22.0	12.0
% Prior Enrolled	33.7	28.9	22.7	53.4	27.5	32.9	94.2
% Enrolling 3 or more Years Prior	3.9	7.7	46.1	11.2	5.8	11.2	15.7
Reasons for Enrolling							
GED	72.2	91.5	30.4	66.8	70.2	71.0	71.0
Job	11.4	9.8	10.9	14.9	11.2	10.5	20.3
Improve	20.3	6.5	42.4	28.4	20.5	23.2	15.9
Satisfaction	23.5	22.8	18.5	24.0	23.7	22.5	39.1
College	24.4	23.1	42.4	22.6	26.4	19.6	34.8

THE RELATION OF GENDER DIFFERENCES TO ADULT RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

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The purpose is to gather data on the following research question. Are gender differences pertaining to adult religious development consistent across the life span. Significant interaction effects were found between gender by age and every measure of adult religiousness.

Introduction

Over the last few decades mainline American Protestant churches that included the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, United Church of Christ, United Methodist Church, and Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) have lost ground in areas of church growth, loss of membership, lack of commitment, and a decline in denominational loyalty. Focusing upon the religious development of adult church goers could be a viable strategy to assist mainline Protestant churches in curtailing these problems and fostering congregational loyalty and growth.

The ultimate purpose of this research was to gather data on hitherto unexplored aspects of adult religiosity and contribute to the adult education knowledge base. This necessitated operationally defining adult religiousness in terms of the following measurable attributes: overall mature faith, vertical faith maturity, horizontal faith maturity, and pro-church (usefulness of church in promoting spiritual growth). Data was used to determine if significant relationships existed between gender differences and measures of adult religiousness over specified age periods (20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, 70 plus years) and if such differences were consistent over the life span. Trend analyses were formulated to indicate the direction (e.g. increase, decrease or stable) of religious growth with age. Finally, data from this study can be used in the formation of denominational educational policies, designing university curricula, developing adult educational programs in academic and church environments, and strategizing for church growth.

Methods & Procedures

This research project was secondary statistical analysis of data collected by Benson and Eklin (1990) on 3,590 adults who responded to the Effective Christian Education Survey for Adults. This was a national random sample with responses coming from all fifty states and spread across five mainline American Protestant denominations. These denominations include about eighty-five percent of what is commonly referred to as mainline Protestantism. Each denomination randomly sampled 150 congregations that were stratified by four size categories (1-199, 200-499, 500-999, & >1,000) and weighting procedures were employed to ensure that large congregations would not disproportionately influence scores on outcome measures. Approximately, 66% of the 750 randomly sampled congregations participated in the study.

The research design employed a 2 X 6 factorial analysis of variance utilizing PROC GLM procedures to analyze all cross-sectional data. ANOVA statistics were used to determine what relationships existed between gender by age and measures of adult religious development. There were two levels of the independent gender (male and female) variable and six levels of the independent age variable. Follow up testing was done by using Tukey's test which controls for the Type I experimentwise error rate.

Findings

Four null hypotheses tested the research question: Are gender differences pertaining to adult religious development consistent across age periods? All null hypotheses were rejected at the .05 level of significance. Significant interaction effects were found between gender by age and every measure of adult religious development. These effects indicated that the two independent variables (gender and age) operated together to have an effect on the dependent variables (overall mature faith, vertical mature faith, horizontal mature faith, & pro-church). This suggests that differences in mean scores for men and women were not constant across age periods. Figures 1 through 4, in the appendix, plot the mean scores for males and females across the life span for every tested attribute of adult religiousness. An asterisk (*) next to a mean score indicates that the differences between mean scores were significant for that age period.

Hypothesis one Gender differences are not significantly related to overall faith maturity (a life-transforming relationship to a loving God and a devotion to serving others) across age periods.

Gender differences were not consistent across every age period, follow up testing indicated, in the majority of cases, that significant differences favored women over men across the life span. The trend was for an increase in overall mature faith with age. However, it was not until males reached their fifties that their level of mature faith surpassed their level in their twenties.

For women in their thirties an interest in mature faith becomes more important for them than their male counterparts and remains that way for the rest of the life span (Benson & Eklin, 1990). Logan's (1986) research suggests that males have not effectively resolved the key themes of trust, achievement, and wholeness typical to Erikson's (1963) stages of psychosocial stages of development.

These concerns may precipatate a sense of self-absorption (beginning in the late 20's) that mitigates against the transcendent passions, and commitments associated with a maturing faith.

Hypothesis two Gender differences are not significantly related to vertical faith maturity (a deep, personal relationship with a loving God) across age periods.

Gender differences consistently favored women over men across the life span and follow up testing indicated significant differences at every age period except the twenties. The trend was for an increase in vertical mature faith with age, but the male profile was punctuated with periods of stability.

Benson and Eklin (1990) found that women tend to maintain higher levels of vertical mature faith across age periods than men. Hamberg (1991) found that certain aspects of religious practice were relatively stable over the life span. Levinson's research (1978) suggests that males in their forties experience a midlife crisis. This may cause them to reassess the nature of their relationship with a personal-loving God and perhaps pull back from it as they shift towards greater confidence in the self. Gould's (1978) research suggests that males in their fifties have reconciled myths of immortality that they held in earlier years; thus, giving rise to a renewed interest in the depth and commitment of their relationship to a loving God. Men and women in their late adulthood years (Erikson, 1963) may have achieved integrated personalities causing them to honestly reflect upon how satisfied they have lived with regards to people and God. Such reflections could foster continued interest in the vertical mature faith aspect of their own religious development.

Hypothesis three Gender differences are not significantly related to horizontal faith maturity (acts of love, mercy & justice) across age periods.

Significant differences favored women over men in the majority of age periods; however, in the twenties significant differences favored males. Moving into the thirties, the male profile falls below the female profile; conceivably, they are experiencing the self-serving dynamics of faith rather than the self-giving aspects of more mature faith (Kahoe & Meadow, 1981). This decline for males may only be a temporal phase until they are able to reconcile the importance of horizontal faith with other aspects of their lives (Perun & Bielby, 1987; Fowler, 1981).

Males and females both reported higher mean scores in the sixties and seventies as opposed to any other period across the life span. This suggests that performing acts of love, justice, and mercy are more important in the late adulthood years than they were in earlier age periods and even though old age may bring with it certain physical limitations, it does not seem to precipatate disengagement from such actions. This finding is contrary to life-span development that suggests individuals in the late adulthood years will begin to disengage from certain activities including those associated with church related functions (Bee, 1987). Perhaps these adults are redefining meaningful life goals that they did not achieve in earlier adulthood (Buhler, 1974). They may hold internalized principles that do not change with circumstances but serve as a basis for performing loving acts (Kohlberg, 1969). The trend is for an increase in horizontal faith maturity with age.

Hypothesis four Gender differences are not significantly related to the usefulness of the church (pro-church) in promoting religious development across age periods.

Females and males were similar with respect to pro-church from the twenties through the forties with females holding a slight, but not significant advantage. The male profile rose significantly above the female profile in the fifties, but fell below it in the sixties and remained in that position into the seventy plus years where differences are significant. The trend is for an increase in the pro-church variable with age; however, males experience a decrease in this variable in the late adulthood years giving rise to a curvilinear profile.

Kwilecki's (1988) research suggests that the church is a culturally relevant institution that has a positive influence on the gradual process of adult religious development. Perhaps males in the late adulthood years perceive the church as being less useful (significantly less in 70 plus years) or relevant in their development, as compared to females, thus leading to the formation of the curvilinear profile.

Conclusions and Implications

In the aggregate, it appears that adult religious development increases with age. There were specific age periods when certain aspects of religiousness appeared stable. Increases in measures of religiosity favored women over men on every measure, but they do not consistently, nor significantly, favor women over men across at all age periods on every measure. Disengagement from activities that promote religious development does not necessarily typify adult church goers as they move into the late adulthood years. Given the large number of significant differences found in the forties and seventy plus years that favor women, it appears that males in these age periods are not doing as well in their development as they could. Some of this could be due to end of life considerations faced by males in the late adulthood years, midlife problems, or the lack of a self-giving faith for males moving into their thirties. This implies that efforts (e.g. educational programs in areas of faith maturity) could be undertaken that would foster their religious growth experience. Similarily, religious issue programming for males in their twenties and thirties may help to encourage their development.

Implications further suggest that adult church goers may be excellent resource people for counseling others who are concerned about their own religious growth. Also, these individuals may effectively provide strategic input to denominational boards, church adult educational committees, Christian education coordinators, and pastors in the development of programs intended to foster religious growth. Considering the findings from all the tested hypotheses there are implications for university (seminary) faculty when structuring adult education programs and formulating course content. Finally, there are implications for researchers in the fields of adult or religious development concerning the re-thinking of developmental theories to more effectively explain the lack of disengagement in religious activities found in this study.

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Figures 1-4 follow on page 81

Figure 1

Mature Faith Overall - Measure from 1(low) to 7(high)

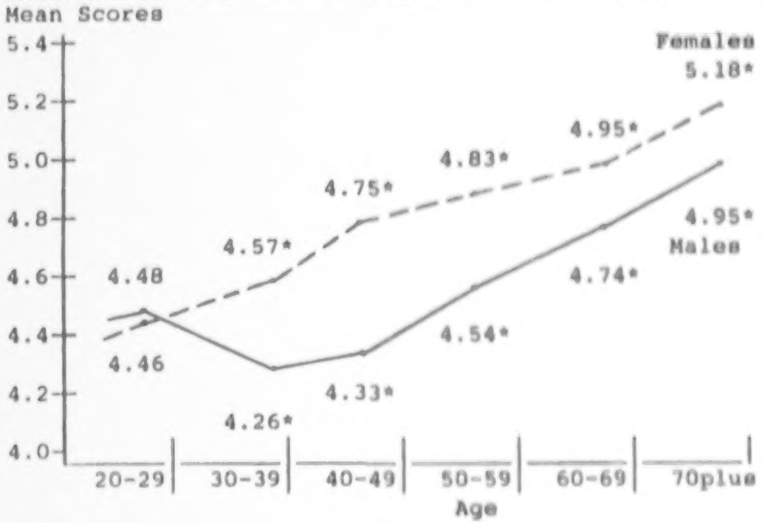


Figure 2

Mature Faith Vertical - Measure from 1(low) to 7(high)

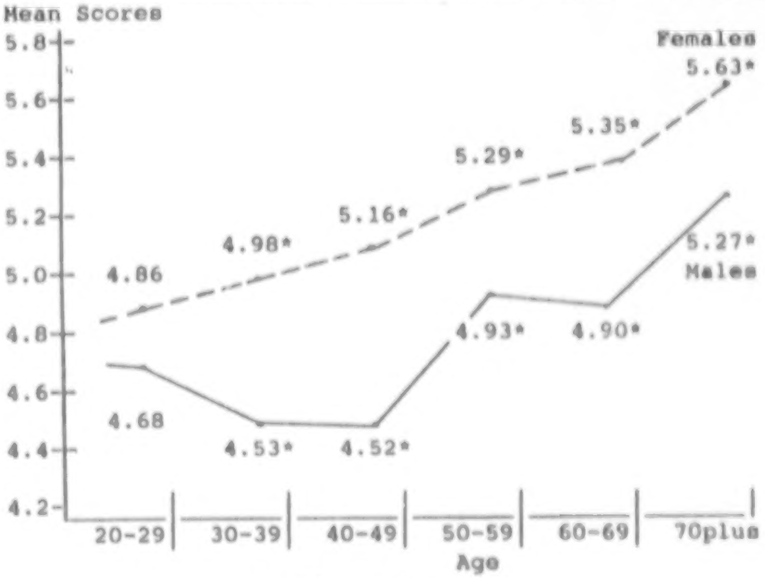


Figure 3

Mature Faith Horiz.- Measure from 1(low) to 7(high)

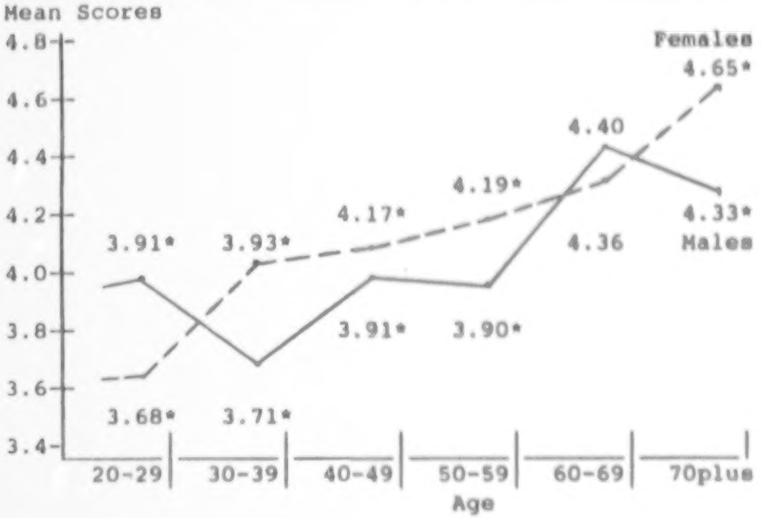
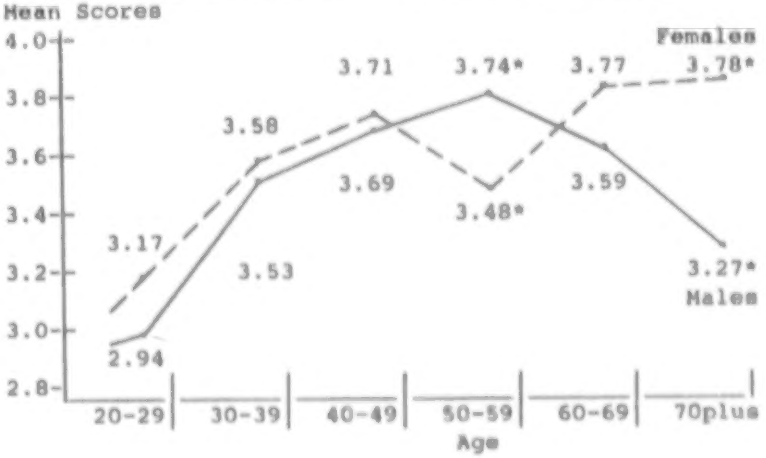


Figure 4

PROCHRCH - Measure from 1 (low) to 5 (high)



ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A MODEL FOR CREATING SOCIAL CHANGE BY CREATING KNOWLEDGE

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The purpose of this paper is to present a model for doing research on social change outside of the academic community, with members from a broad spectrum of social classes, and in a manner that results in a trasformative experience for all.

During the 1991 AERC Conference, adult educators from around the world participated in a symposium addressing questions for scholarship and practice regarding adult education and social change. These questions created lively dialogue but few answers. While everyone decried the lack of appropriate research, few suggested how it could be done in a manner consistent with the notion of adult education as a transformative experience, the major barrier being the separation of academics from the marginalized students they wished to understand.

The purpose of this paper is to present a model of adult education research which speaks to some of the issues raised in the symposium, especially the separation of researcher and researched. The model emanates from an actual research project which involved literacy students as researchers. Because adult basic education students were included as researchers, the relationship between the researchers and the researched was appropriately "one of reciprocity and mutual negotiation of meaning through interaction, dialogue, and self disclosure" (Butterwick, 1991).

The paper begins with a formal definition of research, contrasts and relates this with the definition central to the conference, describes the model for cooperative (student/practitioner/academic) research, details how the conference reflected the model and the type of research generated; and concludes with examples of how the model resulted in transformative experiences for the participants.

Defining Research

Smith and Glass (1987) define research as "disciplined inquiry" which follows one of several paradigms: hypothetico-deductive, inductive, or multioperational. They along with others (e.g. Gay, 1987) distinguish types of research by the purpose or intent of the study. This distinction is based primarily on the extent to which the findings have direct application to the specified area of study and/or the extent to which they are generalizable to other situations. Based on this distinction, Gay (1987) classifies research according to the following types: basic, applied, evaluation, research and development, and action. Correspondingly, the authors of this paper suggest that what is recounted below is essentially action research, inquiry intended to solve a given problem through the application of the scientific method. Action research being locally focused and not involving the development of or reliance on theory.

Although action research was the primary outcome, there were instances when other types of research were initiated. In making this claim the authors admit to disagreeing with the notion that "Few people, even few professionals, actually do research" (Smith & Glass, 1987, p. x). Instead, the authors purport that "research is in the eye of the beholder." It may be a matter of semantics, but we feel that the integrity of the formal definition is not lost when it is rephrased thus: "Research is about asking questions. It is about looking for ways of answering them that will satisfy ourselves and convince other people too" (RaPAL, 1990, p. 3). Research is about learning and generating knowledge.

Without eschewing academic standards of rigor or the issue of research validity, we contend that there can be dimensions, levels, and degrees of research depending on the starting point of the "researcher."

The Model

The model originated from dialogue generated by concern on the part of individuals within The National Federation of Voluntary Schemes (NFVES), United Kingdom, regarding doing research. Like many ideas, this one grew and developed and changed over a period of time. Fundamental to the idea was the desire to transcend the distance between academics, practitioners, and students. Building on previous attempts to engage students and tutors in meaningful, cooperative ventures (RaPAL, 1989), the prototype was a residential writing workshop held in London in 1976. This was followed by a series of residential conferences at Lee Centre, Goldsmiths' College, London, including the first "Doing Research" Conference. Although on the surface the first "Doing Research" conference appeared successful, there was some disquieting feedback from the students which concerned the planners. Their honest sharing in RaPal (1989) led to ideas for improvement that were incorporated into the project described below. Thus, the model is less recipe than guide; it is a narrative of a process that itself exemplifies transformational learning. It is the detailing of the synergistic relationship between the beliefs of the people who desire to engage in the research and the project itself. The major players (which includes both second authors) have struggled with issues of equity and inclusion in adult education for many years.

This point is worth reiterating; the model is the reflection of their philosophy about adult education. What we have tried to do is to articulate how that philosophy was operationalized, how it was actually embedded within the project. Essentially, it means taking students into account from beginning to end. From goal setting, preliminary planning, conducting the actual conference, to the follow up, the consequence of each event in terms of the impact on students must be gauged.

The Conference

In April of 1990, a coalition of researchers, administrators of literacy schemes, tutors, and adult students from across England joined a similar contingent from Germany at the base of Illkely Moor, West Yorkshire, to initiate a research program on participation and retention in literacy education. The purpose of the program was to examine fact and fable about participation and retention in adult education in conjunction with those most likely to know about literacy education, the students themselves. Based on the concept that "knowledge should be developed and shared by everyone" (RaPal, 1990), the project included members from a broad spectrum of social classes.

The project began with a call for participants which included an explanation of the intent of the conference and a request for questions participants would like to explore. One brochure included as well a list of questions from the original NFVES meeting which inspired the conference. The organizers of the conference, the editorial board of the RaPAL Bulletin, intended that participants "should go home with a research project they had helped to plan" (McMahon, A.D., Hamilton, M., Moss, W., Murphy, S., & Ranson, M., 1990).

Therefore, from the responses to the call for participants, the following program was drafted. It is reprinted in its entirety because it demonstrates how the questions people raised were integrated into the goals of the conference organizers. It also indicates how the conference was structured.

Program. (RaPAL, 1990, Autumn)

1. Welcome
   What is research
   Ground Rules
   People Bingo
   Groups discussing questions people had sent us
   Group 1 - Change
   Group 2 - History/writing
   Group 3 - Inside classes/learning
   Group 4 - Getting to classes
   Group 5 - "Literacy" as an idea

2. What questions do we want to ask?

3. Break

4. Other people's research
   - How adults see their own progress
   - Investigating something you've done

How people prefer to learn
Women returning to learn
Teams working together
Teachers' and students' views of reading

5. How to get there: Research methods
   Writing up reports (without writing) Investigating familiar settings Using video Using questionnaires Understanding the information you collect

6. Matching goals and methods

7. The research projects (Reports)

Examining two of the above items more closely should illustrate the premise that the students were foremost in the planners' minds. The "Ground Rules" were prompted by the feedback from the Lee Center Doing Research conference; "People Bingo" was planned as an ice breaker. Again, the "Ground Rules" are printed in their entirety because they mirror the philosophy of the organizers so well:

1. Appoint a "wordwatcher" (this is someone who is responsible for asking for explanations of long words, jargon and abbreviations).
2. Appoint someone to take notes (these can be taped)
3. Make sure everything is read out.
4. Make sure everyone who wants to speak does.
5. Make sure everyone understands everything that is discussed.
6. If you want to write, ask for help if you need it.

The effect of the ground rules was to insure that no one felt left out because they could not understand; the wordwatcher was the bridge between the tutors and the students. Because the wordwatcher was usually a tutor, this created an atmosphere where it was permissible for everyone to ask for clarification. After all, if tutors have to ask questions, there is no stigma in not understanding. Additionally, it was the wordwatcher's responsibility to see that time was taken to translate from English to German, or visa versa. While this required extra time, it was time well spent, with the added benefit of allowing the English students time to reflect on what was going on.

People Bingo was a picture game, the object of which was to find someone who fit the picture. Categories included such things as someone who likes to play cards, sing in the bath, or watch the news on TV. The effect of the game was to create a lot of laughter and to make everyone feel comfortable. Quoting from the final report, "After asking a perfect stranger whether he sings in the bath, it's much easier to talk to him about what he wants to know about learning. It was here, too, that English participants and the party from Germany began to invent ways to communicate." (McMahon, et.al., 1990).

Another indication of the fact that the students were foremost in the planners mind is the work of a second team, known as "The Bradford Lot." This team worked on the logistics of the conference. They were responsible for fund raising, room arrangements, food, heating, equipment, all those unseen things which become very visible when they are ignored. Perhaps the most important detail they assumed responsibility for was seeing the students' expenses were paid. Without the assurance that the conference would cost them nothing, many students would have been unable to make the commitment to attend.

The Research

The aim of the project, to get learners (many of whom could not read and some of whom could not speak English) and tutors started on a cooperative research agenda, was accomplished; participants left the conference committed to working together on research stemming from questions asked during the sessions. The results of that research, both quantitative and qualitative, have recently been published by RaPAL (Research and Practice in Adult Literacy, 1990).

While the results of that research are sufficiently interesting in themselves to warrant presentation, space precludes the enumeration of them. The primary focus of this paper is to articulate the process which made the research possible, since it is the process which should be of greatest interest to academics seriously questioning the relationship between adult education, research, and social change. However, we do want to report that 10 research project plans were proposed.

Conclusion

Evidence that this conference was a transformational experience for the participants is mainly anecdotal, some of which derives from the conference itself, some of which derives from events which occurred (are still occurring) following the conference. The best evidence comes from the participants themselves. What follows are quotes from their reports.

> "The weekend of the 6th to the 8th of April was the best weekend in my life...I was so excited of going to a conference in Bradford. I just couldn't believe it....Being at a conference in Bradford was a big step up the ladder for me, as far as my education goes, as when the weekend was over (it went too quickly) I felt I had achieved a lot of things..."

> "Despite the language barrier we still could make a lot of different impressions. First of all the relationship between the students and tutors seemed to us equal. At first we didn't know who was the student

> and who was the tutor...It was important to know that there are people in England [who] also have difficulties in reading and writing."
>
> "Provocation - someone who read this thought, this a strange word to think of. I think not. Any occasion which requires tolerance has within it the seed of provocation...Provocation may be used in another more powerful sense. Events and individuals can provoke ideas, stimulate one's thinking, challenge one to grow."
>
> "One of the conclusions of my research was supported by what we did in this workshop at the conference -- a lot of research would be much better if it was planned by a group, not just one person."
>
> "I feel taller and stronger because of the international links --more of a human being."

Besides the plethora of personal letters which crossed the country, the Atlantic, and the English Channel, many of the students engaged in professional writing. Some made reports in their hometown, some wrote questionnaires and followed up by analyzing the data, some went to other Schemes to conduct workshops. Again, in a student's own words, "Everybody is writing something. Eric and myself are typing our reports. Stephanie, Jim and Anna are writing theirs. We have a lot of stuff to think, work through and write. For me personally, it was a great change in my life after the conference."

Evidence of change, of confidence building, of initiative, is apparent in these and other words which fill subsequent issues of RaPAL. Also evident is the continuing dialogue between student and researcher which is prerequisite to social change (Peters, 1991).

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ASSESSMENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL STYLES IN POSTSECONDARY PROPRIETARY SCHOOLS

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The purpose of this study was to identify the teaching styles of instructors in postsecondary proprietary schools, operated by the National Education Center, in the allied health, business, and technical programs. The present study investigated whether any differences existed between selected factors of the teaching styles of the three instructor groups, and whether any differences existed within the three instructor groups in level of teaching experience, level of education, level of formal teacher training, level of field experience, age, and sex. The results of testing the hypotheses established that there were significant overall differences between the instructor groups as well as in related factors examined.

Introduction

Adult education has always been characterized by diversity of providers, purposes, and people. Schroeder (1970) classified the various adult education agencies into four categories while Apps (1989) constructed a framework that suggested categories which were focused at tax- supported, non-profit, for-profit agencies as well as nonorganized learning opportunities. Postsecondary proprietary schools would be classified as a Type I agency, according to Schroeder, who has as its primary purpose to serve the educational needs of only adult learners. Apps would classify such adult education providers as for-profit institutions. Few formal educational institutions have focused their attention on primarily serving the educational needs of adults as have proprietary schools. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, nearly 1.2 million students or 72% of all adult vocational students enroll annually in postsecondary proprietary schools (Wilms, 1987). The mission of proprietary schools is to prepare adults to be successful in finding employment. According to Seaman and McDivitt (1989), "The schools function to meet the needs of business and industry, of the community, and, most important, the needs of adults, ages sixteen and over, who wish to further their educations and to learn the skills necessary to enter into a particular career" (p. 412).

Postsecondary proprietary schools are deeply rooted in American educational history. Such schools have and continue to provide a diversity of programs, which requires instructors with varied skills and expertise. Most instructors are recruited from business and industry and are not professional educators. While their knowledge base in the subject area is sound, they have little or no training in the instructional process. Instructional development has been essentially left to the administrators of each school (Girondi, 1991).

Little is known about the teaching styles of instructors in postsecondary proprietary schools and whether or not any differences exist between selected factors of the teaching styles of various instructor groups. According to the adult education literature, instructional development should be an ongoing process for all educators of adults (i.e. Apps, 1991; Brookfield, 1986, 1990; Conti, 1985, 1989; Galbraith, 1990, 1991; Hayes, 1989; Hiemstra & Sisco, 1990; Knowles, 1980; Knox, 1986; Seamam & Fellenz, 1989). A beginning point for instructional development is the knowledge of one's teaching style which is a pervasive quality that persists even though the content that is being taught may change (Conti, 1985). According to Conti (1989), "A knowledge of teaching style can make a difference in how teachers organize their classroom, how they deal with learners, and how well their students do in learning the content..." (p. 3). A teaching style may be defined as an identifiable set of classroom behaviors associated with and carried out by the instructor. In most cases the teacher's style will suggest a collaborative mode or at the other end of the spectrum a more teacher-centered approach. Cornett (1983), however, states that teachers generally have an overall preferred style but this does not mean "they cannot add to or modify that style as circumstances warrant" (p. 28).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to identify the teaching styles of instructors employed by National Education Centers, Inc. (NEC) in allied health, business, and technical programs and to determine if any differences existed between selected factors of the teaching styles of the three instructor groups as well as differences according to level of teaching experience, level of education, level of formal teacher training, level of field experience, age, and sex.

For the purpose of this study the following hypotheses were formulated:

Ho1. There are no significant differences, at the .05 level of confidence, between the teaching styles of NEC instructors in allied health, business, and technical programs.
Ho2. There are no significant differences, at the .05 level of confidence, in selected factors of the teaching styles of NEC instructors in allied health, business, and technical programs.
Ho3. There are no significant differences, at the .05 level of confidence, between the teaching styles of NEC instructors within the three program areas and selected demographic variables.

Methodology

Instrumentation. The "Principles of Adult Learning Scale" (PALS) was utilized to measure the teaching styles of NEC instructors (Conti, 1983). PALS consists of 44 positive and negative items and uses a six-point Likert scale to determine the degree in which a respondent employs various adult learning principles which support the collaborative teaching-learning mode. Overall scores may range from 0-220 on the instrument. High scores on PALS designate a learner centered approach to the teaching and learning transaction while low scores indicate a preference for a teacher-centered approach. Scores near the mean indicate a combination of teaching behaviors which draw elements from both the learner centered approach and the teacher-centered approach (Conti, 1985). Of the 44 items on the inventory, 27 contain statements supportive of the collaborative teaching-learning mode, while 17 contain statements of a non-collaborative mode. PALS contains seven factors: learner-centered activities, personalizing instruction, relating to experience, assessing student needs, climate building, participation in the learning process, and flexibility for personal development. In addition, a questionnaire was developed that asked for demographic information.

Subjects. The subjects used for this study were confined to a random sample of 300 instructors out of the 800 instructors employed by the National Education Centers, Inc. The sample included instructors from all of NEC's 51 proprietary schools around the United States. The sample included 100 instructors in each program subgroup: allied health, business, and technical programs.

Data Collection Procedures. Research packets containing the PALS instruments, response sheets, demographic questionnaires, and return envelopes were distributed to the participating instructors through the school director. Each school director served as monitor for the completion of the research packets. An overall response rate of 88% was obtained (N=264).

Analysis. The data were analyzed using the analysis of variance (ANOVA). ANOVA was the statistical procedure used in this study since it involved three instructor groups and one dependent variable. The dependent variable of this study was a factor score from the PALS. The independent variables were the instructor's teaching assignment, level of teaching experience in adult education, level of education, level of formal teacher training, level of field experience, age, and sex. Post hoc tests were also used for the analysis.

Findings

The data shown in Table 1 exhibit an obvious and pronounced pattern that overall mean scores (X = 123.7) were below the PALS mean scores (X = 146) for six of the seven factors. In addition, overall mean scores for each program area (allied health, X = 125.0; business, X = 127.4; technical, X = 118.9) were below the PALS mean score. With the exception of PALS factor 4, "Assessing Student Needs," all other factor scores in each program area fell below the PALS factor mean scores.

As shown in Table 1, all program groups indicated preference toward the teacher-directed mode. Although the data indicate a similar preference, the Ho1, was rejected due to the finding of a difference between groups at the .001 level of significance ($p < .001$). The Scheffe analysis indicated that the technical group's preference for the teacher-directed mode was strongest.

Table 1: Overall Means of PALS Factors and Program Areas

		PALS MEAN SCORE	OVERALL MEAN SCORE	PROGRAM A.H. N=80	AREA BUS. N=91	SCORES TECH. N=93
1.	Learner-Centered Activities	38	32.7	31.3	33.7	32.9
2.	Personalizing Instruction	31	22.4	23.3	23.4	20.8
3.	Relating to Experience	21	19.3	20.5	19.7	17.7
4.	Assessing Student Needs	14	15.1	16.2	15.0	14.3
5.	Climate Building	16	15.3	15.1	15.3	15.4
6.	Participation in the Learning Process	13	10.1	10.5	10.5	9.4
7.	Flexibility for Personal Development	13	8.8	8.1	9.7	8.5
N=264		146	123.7	125.0	127.4	118.9

In testing Ho2, selected factors of teaching styles, a statistical significance was found in five of the seven PALS factors. In the five areas the data analysis rejected Ho2. The Scheffe analysis indicated that the technical group revealed the least support for personalizing instruction (df = 2, F = 8.84, $p < .001$), relating to experience (df = 2, F = 6.70, $p < .001$), and participation in the learning process (df = 2, F = 3.18, p

< .043). The allied health group revealed the strongest support for assessing student needs (df = 2, F = 7.70, p < .001), and the business group revealed the strongest support for flexibility for personal development (df = 2, F = 4.51, p < .012).

Ho3 was rejected for two of the six demographic variables tested: formal teacher training and sex. The data indicate that instructors with higher education teacher training (df = 2, F = 3.46, p <.033) and instructors of the female gender (df = 1, F = 6.52, p < .011) have a tendency toward a more collaborative mode of teaching.

Conclusions

This study suggests that a strong preference for the teacher-directed mode of instruction exists in postsecondary proprietary schools. Instructors in technical programs demonstrate a firmer tendency toward the teacher-directed mode than do instructors in allied health and business programs. This tendency might be attributed to their limited exposure to effective instructor role models. Although two demographic variables were found to be significant, the researchers would exercise caution in suggesting that those findings could be generalizable.

The primary implication from this study is that instructor development programs should be created that are grounded in adult learning and development principles and characterized by effective facilitative practices. The PALS factors could serve as a beginning point for the development of instructor training.

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DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF WORK AND EDUCATION

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Current debates on work and education are criticized as being too narrow and leaving out important questions and concerns. A comprehensive framework is suggested which draws analyses of social divisions, ecological problems, as well as cultural notions of progress and development into a broad, integrated critique.

Due to the current turbulent changes and developments in the economy and in the nature and organization of work and workplaces, the theme of work has recently become more prominent in adult education. These new discussions on work range from requests for training workers in the so-called new "workplace basics" (Carnevale et al., 1988) to creating organizations which function as "learning systems" (Marsick, 1988) or "learning environments" (Welton, 1991). The first approach, arising from human capital theory, emphasizes the training of "skills employers want" (Carnevale et al., 1988), and tries to make people fit given or projected economic and workplace conditions (see, for instance, Perelman, 1984). The second approach sees training as only one aspect of a more complex learning situation, where "personal and job-related development" are seen to be integrated (Marsick, 1988, p. 194), or where the workplace becomes "a site for the development of worker cognitive, communicative, affective, and somatic capacities" (Welton, 1991, p. 28). Workers are therefore not only fitted to existing or projected conditions and requirements in the workplace, but workplaces themselves are investigated to see whether they are "educative" (Welton, 1991) or allow for such comprehensive learning.

Both approaches, the more conventional approach of skills training and the more innovative approach of workplace learning, rest on an acknowledgment, and to some extent on an analysis of several social, economic, and technological changes which are currently taking place: The change from manufacture to service industries in highly industrialized countries, increased competition on the world market, current or projected demographic shifts in the domestic labor force, the development and introduction of new technologies into many if not most workplaces leading to changes in skills demands and organizational structures. These changes are seen as the main catalyst behind new approaches to education and learning for and at work.

Despite the fact that these new approaches represent responses to changes, often characterized as "dramatic" or "revolutionary," overall they operate within a rather orthodox view of "the economy" (inexorably tied to the need for continuous growth and development) and a conventional conceptualization of work as employment primarily in large bureaucratic organizations. In other words, the overall organization of "the economy," its underlying dynamics, and related social and cultural assumptions concerning growth, productivity, progress, and development remain largely taken for granted. A number of important issues and an entire catalogue of problems which trouble "the economy" or the experience of work under current late capitalist conditions can therefore not be seen or grasped, leading to fragmented or distorted analyses of the current reality of work, and to a limited vision of educative work.

I believe that a more comprehensive as well as integrative view of work and education can be developed by casting a wider conceptual net than either of the two approaches mentioned allows, and by problematizing not only conventional conceptualizations of work and production, but also of progress and development. Such an enlarged framework will allow us to see connections and interrelationships among otherwise disconnected phenomena, and it will be truly critical by questioning taken-for granted assumptions and values.

Work as a Generative Theme

At the center of such a framework is a view of work as a complex, multi-layered experience which is fully embedded in a larger matrix of cultural and social norms and assumptions. In other words, we can look at work as a "generative theme" whose multiple meanings and implications fan out in many different directions, revealing the multiple realities of work, but also their relationship to each other. Secondly, and equally importantly, we need to acknowledge that work, or the neccessity for work, is tied to human survival, i.e. to the fact that we are physical as well psychological and spiritual beings. Despite its own ideological shortcomings, the Marxist notion of production as a "metabolic exchange with nature" is quite useful as it poses a dialectical relationship between biology and society and acknowledges that we are dependent on and ourselves part of nature, but that the way we deal with this dependency, and how we define "survival," takes on historically and culturally changing forms. This points to another dimension of work and production which is generally not addressed in discussions on good or educative work: whether what is produced through work truly contributes to human survival and wellbeing.

Work therefore has four important dimensions: it produces useful goods and services, and it brings the worker in relation to the self, to others, and to nature. These dimensions, while analytically distinct, are nevertheless interrelated and mutually dependent. Thus, in a discussion of what constitutes good or educative work, for instance, all four dimensions need to be critically examined in relation to each other.

To look at work in such a comprehensive way allows one to draw on and integrate a large variety of critical theories and analyses which in different ways not only bring to light the many ills associated with work and production, but also pose questions for a positive, future-oriented vision of good as well as educative work. In the following I will briefly sketch some of the most important issues that need to be addressed with respect to these four dimensions.

Work, Human Needs, and Useful Goods

Work's dimension of producing goods for human needs poses the question of the social construction of human needs in an economic context which is dependent on systematically creating new needs as well as dissatisfaction with old ones (see, for instance, Seabrook 1986, Fromm, 1966), in turn leading to questions of material and spiritual poverty: Can there be true happiness where the exploitation of human needs is an economic necessity? To what extent are the goods we produce really useful in terms of human wellbeing?

Many goods produced today are highly demanding and destructive in terms of resource use but often only minimally related to such basic needs as health, food, clothing, or shelter. Thus, we have the problem of growing garbage dumps in juxtaposition with growing poverty and homelessness and an increasing demand for electronic "push-button-comfort" for a small elite leads to an accelerated pace of producing "bigger and better" versions of the same high tech products while the last vestiges of still intact subsistence economies, oriented towards the producers' survival needs, are being destroyed (Shiva, 1989). In addition, everywhere in the world essential ingredients of survival, i.e. air, water, food have become polluted, and to breathe, drink, or eat has itself become a health hazard.

Work and Social Relations

Work and production are embedded in and give rise to complex structures of separations, divisions, disadvantages, and privileges. Class, race, ethnicity, nationality, age and sex are the main categories structuring these divisions, forming distinct but interlocking systems of exploitation, underpinned by cultural notions of what kind of people are fit for or should be doing what kind of work. For example, current cost-cutting efforts by many businesses often draw on "broad cultural understandings about the type of work that it is appropriate for particular population groups to perform" (Block, 1990, p. 116) as they provide important leverage for certain forms of super-exploitation. Aside from the more blatant examples of moving production sites to "cheap labor" countries, internal processes of "cheapening" human labor by appealing to sexist or racist constructions of what constitutes valuable labor exist as well. For instance, the increasing use of less-than-full-time employment directly takes advantage of many women's weak position in the labor market, due to the still practically exclusive responsibility they have for raising children. Thus, part-time work, like many other new forms of temporary, seasonal, casual, etc. work is a "new form of work that is highly exploitative and quite sex-specific" (Cockburn, 1991, p. 81), while directly feeding on and reinforcing the old sexual division of labor. At the same time, as more and more men are affected by these precarious forms of employment, we can speak of a "feminization of work" not merely because women predominate in these employment situations, but men's employment conditions begin to resemble more and more those of women in terms of pay, instability or insecurity. Likewise, racist and ethnocentrist constructions of work categorically define certain groups of people as "cheap labor," who need to be payed less than others simply because of their nationality, or racial/ethnic origin. Essentially, everybody who is "non-white," "non-male," and "non-young" (Ehrlich, 1988, p. 112) is by definition low-grade human capital. The current cries of gloom and doom about the demise of the future American workforce because "women, minorites, and immigrants" may constitute a larger proportion of the labor force (Perelman, 1984; Dole, 1989) do not so much depict a real "human capital crisis" but rather the degree to which racist, sexist, and nationalist fears are entrenched in our social consciousness. An evocation of these fears still lends itself to legitimating the super-exploitation of certain categories of people, and feeds into the overall trend of devaluing or "cheapening" all human labor.

Work and Individual Development

A realistic as well as critical assessment of the developmental potential of work needs to take into consideration the larger factors mentioned above. These are not background factors. Experiences of discrimination, of perceived and actual lack of opportunities, jobs that are experienced as meaningless because they are not connected with the production of useful goods, occupational hazards, insecurity, low pay, all these and many other factors contribute to the educative or miseducative reality of work. Larger social issues and forces combine with more strictly economic ones. For instance, Hayes (1989) describes the new neurotic attachment to work of many professional workers due to general diminishing social connections. On the lower end of the spectrum, he describes how workers develop a form of "mobile solitude" because frequent job changes prevent them from building social relations on their jobs. Howard (1986) describes a process of internal alienation of people constructing a "corporate self." An accelerating pace of work and life (often in conjunction with an increased work load, especially for women), and an accompanying sense of drivenness and never having enough time seems to have become an all-pervasive experience (Edmondson, 1991, Hochschild, 1989, Rifkin, 1987). This is a situation which seriously hampers learning and individual development.

Work, Technology, and Nature

The main focus of current debates on work and education or training is on the skills requirements of current and future jobs because of the introduction of new technologies. On the one hand this leads to the already mentioned portrayal of the American workforce as dismally unprepared for these new jobs, on the other to a more optimistic outlook which appraises the learning potential of either these new technologies themselves (Hirschhorn, 1984, Welton, 1991), or the kind of organizational changes they permit or bring about (Marsick, 1987, Welton, 1991).

Central to the argument for the learning potential of new technology is the assertion that it requires higher, more advanced, or more "intellective" (Zuboff, 1988) skills. Skills are perceived as higher essentially because they require more and different kinds of mental activities from workers who are no longer dealing with the concrete material conditions of production but rather with their symbolic representations. However, despite the talk of "paradigm shifts" or "disjunctures," a number of old Western cultural and philosophical themes are revitalized here and carried to a new level of intensity. It is particularly the ideal of a total emancipation from "nature," "necessity," or "the body" that seems to reverberate in these discussions. This idea is epitomized by the "knowledge worker" who is seen to have become liberated from the grime and dirt of physical involvement in production, and from the fetters of the here and now of physical contact, and who is now at play with the clean reality of symbols, in an equally clean, dust-free, and air-conditioned artificial environment. It seems that the Scientific Revolution's promise of total control of nature (seen as dead, endlessly malleable matter) has now entered its final union with the Cartesian mind/body split, ridding work and production from any material or bodily vestiges altogether.

The idea (and ideal) of the knowledge worker reinforces cultural notions of what constitutes "dirty work," at the same time "naturalizing" the conditions under which manual work, or work bringing the worker in contact with the body, has become "dirty" in the first place. It also pushes the question of who will do this kind of work in the future under the rug. Again, we can assume that it will be the "non-white" or "non-male" part of the population, reinforcing existing inequalities and divisions. Moreover, the unequivocal glorification of computer-mediated work blocks off any possibility for evaluating the competencies, skills, and accumulated knowledge and wisdom contained in experiences of work which comes in close contact with material or organic reality. Much vital ecological and interactive knowledge has been produced precisely in these kinds of experiences, many of which are already lost or destroyed, but which could give us ideas about dealing with nature, and with our natural as well as human and non-human "resources" in more humane, preserving, and enhancing ways. As discussed elsewhere (Hart, 1992), these kinds of experiences contain important questions for education, as well as tremendous learning potential.

A Comprehensive, Critical Framework

If we place the question of what is the ultimate purpose of "the economy," and of work and production at the center of analysis larger social values and assumptions concerning progress, productivity, and economic growth are drawn into the orbit of critique as well. These values, and their material manifestations, constitute the boundary conditions of work, and largely determine the scope as well as nature of the educative potential of work. Thus, the important and worthwile question of what is educative work needs to consider the possibility that these boundary conditions may be profoundly miseducative, either sabotaging the full unfolding of educative workplaces, or severely limiting the conceptualizations of educative work itself. Thus, by subjecting these boundary conditions to critical scrutiny can we not only see apparent contradictory realities of work in relation to each other (for instance, unskilled and highly skilled work, or "glamorous" and "dirty" work), but we can also arrive at more critical conceptualizations of good or educative work, and of what kind of skills, knowledge, and competencies can contribute to the sustenance and improvement of life on this planet.

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TOWARD NEW PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN IN ADULT EDUCATION

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A content analysis of adult education journal articles revealed five dominant perspectives on women. Each perspective is limited in its characterization of women and as a guide for educational practice. Suggestions for the development of new perspectives on women are offered, within the framework of critical feminist educational theory.

Background

Women as learners and educators have become increasingly important in adult education. The rapid growth in numbers of women students in adult education over the last two decades has been well-documented. This dramatic increase in women's educational participation and a concern for women's distinctive learning needs has led to a variety of special educational programs for women, such as women's reentry programs in higher education (Lewis, 1988). In addition, women are assuming new roles in the profession, as suggested by the increasing number of female graduate students and professors of adult education (Willie & Williams, 1986).

However, there is evidence that scholarship on adult women's learning and educational experiences has not kept pace with this increase in participation, professional status, and program development (Hayes, 1991; Hayes, 1992; Hayes & Smith, 1990). After a review of women's educational programs since the 1970's, Ekstrom, Marvel & Swenson (1984) point out a need for more research and theory-building efforts that can serve as the basis for improved education for women. However, a barrier to further research and theory-building is the lack of clarity regarding alternative conceptual approaches that might inform such efforts. The existing literature is suggestive of diverse assumptions about women's needs and appropriate educational programs; the nature of these assumptions and their implications have not been systematically analyzed.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the past and present perspectives on women that inform adult education research and practice, as a starting point for the consideration of new approaches to future scholarship on women and gender. These perspectives were identified through a content analysis of publications on women and gender in major adult education journals. A number of scholars have developed frameworks for analyzing scholarship on women in specific disciplines; Tetrault (1985) presents one of the most comprehensive and detailed models. It was initially planned to use Tetrault's framework as the basis for the study, but initial analyses suggested that her categories did not adequately represent the perspectives on women in the adult education literature. Accordingly, qualitative methods were used to identify perspectives specific to adult education. Several major limitations in these perspectives will be discussed. Critical feminist educational theory will be proposed as a conceptual framework that overcomes these limitations; its implications will be illustrated in context of adult literacy education.

Content Analysis

The data base for the content analysis consisted of articles from four major adult education journals: Adult Education Quarterly, Lifelong Learning, Adult Education (U.K.) and Studies in the Education of Adults. To represent past as well as present perspectives, articles in the data base were drawn from publications from 1966 to 1990. Articles were selected for analysis that dealt explicitly with women in adult education, women's educational programs, or gender differences. Ethnographic content analysis was used as the research methodology. In this approach, themes and categories are generated through the data analysis, rather than fitting the data into predetermined categories (Althiede, 1987). Three key questions guided the analysis of each article: How are women described? How are similarities/differences between women and men described and explained? What educational strategies for women are suggested? Comparative analysis of emerging themes led to the development of major conceptual categories or frameworks representing key perspectives on women in adult education.

Five dominant perspectives were identified through the content analysis. These included: (1) women as adult learners; (2) women's need for personal development; (3) women's role change and adjustment; (4) marginalization of women; and (5) women as collaborative learners.

Dominant Perspectives on Women

Women as Adult Learners. In this perspective, identified in 16 articles, women were treated as a particular group of learners defined by their sex. There was little recognition of the potential significance of gender and its relationship to women's characteristics, life situations or learning. These articles could be placed into two primary subgroups: research studies or program descriptions. Implications for adult education typically were stated in terms of general adult education theory or practice; in some cases women were discussed as one of many distinctive "target groups" for adult education. Clayton and Smith's (1987) study of reentry women's motivations to participate in adult education is an example of this perspective.

Personal Development. The guiding assumption of this perspective was that women were deficient in critical personal attributes, including affective qualities such as self-esteem, in addition to skills such as written and oral communication or interpersonal skills. Such deficiencies were thought to be the result of women's isolation as homemakers and childhood socialization, and thus amenable to remediation. From this perspective, the primary role of adult education was to help women develop more adequate abilities through special educational programs and strategies, including counselling and a nonthreatening academic environment. The programs recommended for women could be differentiated somewhat according to their ultimate goal, such as preparing women for higher education, occupations, or general enrichment. This perspective was identified in 32 articles; an example is Aird's (1980) description of a British New Opportunities for Women program.

Role Change and Adjustment. This perspective, found in 18 articles, was characterized by its focus on women's experience of changing roles in the home, workplace and society at large. These role changes were assumed to create problems for women, rather than the personal deficiencies suggested by the preceding perspective. A small number of articles dealt with problems created by the adult student role itself. The primary function suggested for adult education was to help women adjust to new roles, by methods including goal clarification and career exploration, as well as counselling, to overcome fears or resistance to new roles. Elshof and Konek's (1977) program description is typical of this perspective.

Marginalization. In contrast to other perspectives, the key assumption in this perspective was that women are the victims of oppressive economic, political and societal structures. The 41 articles associated with this perspective differed in their emphasis on different sources of this oppression; a subgroup of articles identified discriminatory practices in adult education provision and the adult education profession. Adult educators were encouraged to utilize strategies that fostered social change as well as individual change, in some cases to help students recognize the need for collective action to overcome oppressive situations. Bruce and Kirkup (1985) provide an example of this perspective with a focus on both discrimination in the workplace and in provision of training.

Women as Collaborative Learners. This perspective reflected an assumption that interpersonal relationships are the primary source of identity and personal development for women. This concern with relationships was assumed to lead to women's preference for a collaborative rather than individualistic or competitive approach to learning. This perspective was dominant in only four articles, although a number of other articles suggested that women were more likely to succeed in collaborative learning situations. The obvious implication was that educational programs for women should emphasize the use of collaborative strategies. An example of this perspective is Kazemek (1988), who differs somewhat from the others by suggesting that men might also benefit from collaborative learning groups.

Limitations of Past Perspectives

Through their focus on women and gender, the articles associated with these perspectives have addressed at least one basic feminist criticism of traditional scholarship: the exclusion or invisibility of women. However, these past perspectives are limited in their potential contribution to our understanding of women and as a guide for educational practice. While each perspective has its own specific weaknesses, several limitations can be found across perspectives. First, women were treated as deficient in all perspectives, either explicitly or implicitly. The Personal Development and Role Conflict/Adjustment perspectives offer the most obvious examples of this deficiency assumption. Women typically were compared negatively to desirable models of behavior in the Women as Adult Learner perspective. From the Marginalization perspective, women appeared to be passive victims of oppression, in need of rescue by adult educators. Even authors writing from the Women as Collaborative Learners perspective tended to suggest that women were inadequate or problematic in comparison to men. Women's preference for collaborative learning modes was translated into a need for extra teacher support, and even separate classes so that they wouldn't be negatively affected by interactions with male students. The primary basis for this deficiency orientation was the continued use of typically masculine attributes and mainstream educational models as a standard for comparison. For example, since the self-directed, autonomous learner continues to be glorified in adult education, it is not surprising that women's collaborative learning style might be considered a weakness.

A second limitation found in all perspectives was the tendency to treat women as a rather monolithic group. Differences among women commonly were de-emphasized in favor of broad generalizations. A small number of articles did focus specifically on women of racial or ethnic minority groups; however, in such articles race and culture typically became the sole object of attention. The combined impact of race or culture and gender was not considered or given passing treatment. Also lacking in most articles was attention to class-related differences among women. While there were some noteworthy exceptions, most articles described research or educational programs that involved primarily middle class women.

Finally, a third common limitation was the lack of a well-articulated conceptual framework as a basis for research and practice. The literature on women and gender was dominated by program descriptions, which were largely atheoretical or guided by a few key assumptions drawn from an implicit functionalist or liberal feminist orientation. Research studies drew on varied theoretical approaches; striking was the limited reference to feminist theory and the lack of an appreciable research base within any perspective. While it is admittedly unreasonable to expect practice-oriented publications to include extensive theoretical discussions or research, the lack of substantial scholarship on women and gender across publications suggests a significant barrier to the advancement of both practice and research.

Toward New Perspectives

While the data base for the content analysis was drawn from a time span of over 25 years, during which feminist scholarship experienced considerable development, there was little indication of significant trends in perspectives across time. The only noticeable change was the appearance of the Women as Collaborative Learners perspective in articles published after 1985; the small number of these articles makes it difficult to determine if they represent a substantial new direction in adult education scholarship on women. Given the above limitations, the generation of new perspectives on women in adult education is an obvious need. An article by Parsons (1990) offered a potentially new perspective through an analysis of alternative feminist approaches to curriculum design. As Parsons and also Hugo (1990) suggest, feminist scholarship offers a number of possibilities for developing more adequate perspectives on women in adult education.

A particularly promising orientation emerging from feminist work in education is critical feminist educational theory. As described by Weiler (1988), feminist researchers working from this orientation are guided by assumptions from socialist feminism and critical educational theory. Socialist feminism provides, first, the assumption that educational systems have significant relationships to the economic and class structure of capitalism. A second assumption is that patriarchy as well as capitalism are the sources of social inequities; the two systems reinforce and support each other. From critical educational theory, these researchers take the concepts of social reproduction, cultural production, and resistance. Social reproduction describes the ways in which educational institutions function to maintain inequality and oppression; cultural production and resistance are means of understanding women's potential agency as well as accomodation to these oppressive forces. Thus, this orientation offers a conceptual framework for scholarship that integrates sociological theories of education with feminist theory.

Its focus on women's resistance overcomes the image of women as passive victims predominant in the Marginalization perspective within adult education, yet avoids the tendency of other perspectives to locate women's problems in individual deficiencies. Finally, through its explicit attention to the significance of class as well as gender, and increasingly of race, this orientation offers the potential to understand diversity among women and their educational experiences.

How specifically might such a perspective inform future work in adult education? For an example, the context of adult literacy education is particularly relevant, since resistance as a concept recently has been introduced as a means of understanding low-literate adults' nonparticipation and dropout from literacy programs. This view of low-literate adults as resisters offers a means of overcoming the individual deficiency perspective that has been applied to both low-literate women and men. However, feminist theory adds another dimension to our understanding of resistance as well as women's experience. Adopting a critical feminist perspective would suggest that resistance is different for women and men, since women experience sexism as well as class-related oppression. It would point to the need to investigate women's resistance in the context of the home as well as education, since sexism is experienced in family relationships as well as in public spheres. For example, women may seek out adult basic education to escape from oppressive family situations; thus educational participation for women may be a form of resistance to one type of oppression while at the same time appearing to be acceptance of other dominant societal values and norms. This approach offers greater insight into the value that women might place on literacy education, as well as the factors that limit its potential to foster meaningful change in women's lives.

The development of new perspectives on women in adult education poses a significant and important challenge to both researchers and practitioners. Given the problematic nature of existing perspectives, it is a challenge not to be ignored.

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A complete list of articles reviewed in the content analysis is available on request from the author. The author would like to acknowledge the contribution of Letitia Smith to the research discussed in this paper.

LEARNING STRATEGIES USED IN REAL LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENT OF ADULT NATIVE AMERICAN TRIBAL COLLEGE STUDENTS

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The relationship of learning strategies to achievement of Native American adult students in tribal college settings was examined. Additionally, demographic/cultural information was gathered to analyze the relationship to learning strategies. It was found that learning strategies related to memory were key in distinguishing the top 15% from the bottom 15% of achiever's scores. Analysis of variance results showed significant differences on a number of factors. Most notably displayed was that participants who reported speaking native languages in the home used real life learning strategies of metacognition and metamotivation more than other participants.

Introduction

Tribal Colleges are relatively new educational institutions. The first was established on the Navaho Reservation in 1968. By 1990, 26 tribally-controlled colleges existed located from Michigan to Washington and from North Dakota to Arizona (Boyer, 1989, p. 21). An internal impetus for these colleges came from tribal groups who were generally dissatisfied with the state of Native American educational opportunities beyond the secondary level. Other trends such as native veterans of World War II gaining seats on tribal councils and young Native Americans realizing the benefits education had afforded other Americans also had an impact (Stein, 1988). These internal movements coincided with larger national trends such as the community college movement and the civil rights movement.

Tribal colleges made their appearance across the western United States throughout the early and mid-1970s. Difficulties were many for these new and struggling institutions. Finding operational funds, suitable classrooms, and qualified faculty were problematical. "Tribal colleges had to scramble every year to keep their doors open" (Stein, 1988, p. 6). Financial difficulties were eased somewhat by the passage of the Tribally-controlled Community College Act of 1978 which provided an amount of money for each Native American student enrolled full-time (Boyer, 1989). The struggles, however, continue as Native Americans seek to define and build new institutions according to their own educational needs and aspirations.

These institutions offer a variety of educational opportunities particular to each tribal community. Offerings include transfer courses, terminal vocational degrees, para-professional and professional degrees, adult basic education including basic literacy, and community interest courses. As a central part of their mission the promotion of tribal cultures are seen as an integral part of curricular offerings. All of the different elements of these multifaceted institutions taken together with the nontraditional nature of their students have led to tribal colleges being defined as "adult education institutions" (Conti & Fellenz, 1991).

Tribal college students are generally older than traditional-aged college students. In the Montana tribal colleges the average age is 27 and students who are middle aged and older are not hard to find. The plurality of female students ranges from 60% to 70% of the student body, and many are single mothers. Frequently these students have not performed any academic work since high school and must relearn basic skills. Administrators and faculty are vitally interested in improving achievement of their students and uncovering keys to better learning. Since these institutions draw much of their curriculum from real-life sources and have a basic purpose of improving life on the reservation, a fertile field for research is how these adult students learn in real-life situations.

"Adult real-life learning" is a phrase used to distinguish the learning that is part of daily life from that which occurs in formal classroom situations. Such learning is often described as problem solving, planning, or experiencing while academic life is spoken of as studying or educating. The field of adult education can trace interest in real-life learning to Houle (1961) and Tough (1971). There are a number of distinct and easily identifiable differences between real-life learning and learning which takes place in academia. For example, classroom problems frequently have answers which are identified by the teacher or textbook, are usually clearly structured, and often can be solved without the help of others. Real-life problems often have no clearly identified right answer, lack structure and involve group dynamics in progressing toward a solution (Sternberg, 1989).

Learning strategies may be defined as the techniques or skills that an individual elects to use in order to accomplish a learning task. In adult education circles they are usually included under learning-how-to-learn skills. They can be categorized under major groups such as (a) metacognitive skills which include planning, monitoring, and assessing approaches to learning; (b) motivational skills, such as attention, relevance, and confidence; and (c) memory skills of rehearsal, organization of material to be remembered, external aids and use of experience; (d) resources management skills such as identification and critical use of resources and wise use of human resources as well as (e) critical thinking skills of questioning assumptions, identifying context, creating alternatives, and conditionally accepting information can also be considered learning strategies (Fellenz, in press).

Since no instrument currently existed to measure adult learning strategies in real-life situations, the staff at the Center for Adult Learning Research at Montana State University developed the Self-Knowledge Inventory of Lifelong Learning Strategies (SKILLS). SKILLS consists of two sets of six scenarios from real-world situations. These scenarios were drawn from a general list of real-life learning needs commonly encountered by individuals in the course of daily living. They include learning needs related to vocational, domestic, medical, recreational, or political categories (Shirk, 1990). Questions assess how likely an individual is to use specific strategies for dealing with the learning task or problem. The instrument can be completed in less than 20 minutes and can be self-scored.

Questions on SKILLS are based on five aspects of learning thought to be essential to the learning process and that have the potential for improvement through the refinement of learning strategies (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). These are sub-constructs of metacognition, metamotivation, memory, resource management, and critical thinking. Each sub-construct forms the basis for three to four learning strategies, in turn related to a scenario, which are then rated by those taking SKILLS. Each scenario has a total of 15 learning strategies.

The SKILLS instrument construct validity was verified through examination by cognitive and educational psychologists. Additional support for content validity is that SKILLS is based on extant adult and real-life learning literature. Content validity was assessed by a jury of adult learning experts and was found adequate. Item validity was established by extensive field testing. Reliability was ascertained through the Spearman-Brown test which showed a .72 correlation between equal forms and the Gutman split-half test which showed a correlation of .84 (Conti & Fellenz, 1991b).

The Problem

Tribal colleges have been developed to address Native American educational problems. Their task is two-fold; to preserve the culture and to effectively deliver educational programs of quality to Native American populations. More information is needed to accomplish these challenging tasks. The concept of learning strategies offers a new approach for uncovering answers to what Native American adult learners do in learning situations, what learning strategies various Native American learners prefer, and what influences the learning strategies chosen. Since the tribal colleges are presently concerned with improving the lives of Native Americans, an understanding of factors related to the learning of real-life skills is vital.

The Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate if individual learning strategies and selected demographic and cultural factors can discriminate between various achievement levels of students in tribal colleges in Montana. Relationships between a student's grade point average at a tribal college and learning strategies as measured by the Self-Knowledge Inventory of Lifelong Learning Strategies (SKILLS) were examined.

Methodology

The population for this study consisted of students from the seven tribal colleges in Montana. Cluster sampling, based on separate academic and cultural classes offered by the tribal colleges, was used. Each college's quarter or semester schedule was examined and 10 classes were randomly selected. Sample size at individual colleges ranged from 23 at Fort Peck Community College in Poplar, Montana to 44 at Little Big Horn College, Crow Agency, Montana.

Before taking SKILLS, students were asked to fill out a form requesting demographic, educational and cultural information and a form authorizing release of their GPAs. Cultural variables included whether the participant was Native American, officially enrolled in a tribe, a self-report of whether they considered themselves a traditional or non-traditional Native American, and the amount of time English was spoken in their home.

Overall, 234 students took SKILLS and provided demographic, educational and cultural information. After incomplete data was removed 198 SKILLS scores and demographic data sets remained. Of these 142 were female and 56 were male; the average age of the sample was 31. Of the 198 students, 176 identified themselves as Native American.

Discriminant analysis was part of the statistical procedures used to analyze the data. This procedure allows study of the differences between two or more groups at the same time (Klecka, 1980, p. 7). In this study, students with the top and bottom 15% of GPAs were used. SKILLS scores, demographic, educational, and cultural information were the discriminating variables used to distinguish between these two groups.

In order to eliminate weak or redundant variables from the analysis, a stepwise selection was done which selects the most useful discriminating variables. The F statistic was used to test "the additional discrimination introduced by the variable being considered after taking into account the discrimination achieved by the other variables already entered" (p. 57). The objective was to find the smallest subset of all the variables which discriminated as well as or better than the entire set.

The statistical procedure of analysis of variance was also used. One way analyses of variance were performed with demographic, educational, and cultural variables and scores of fifteen learning strategies on the four SKILLS real-life learning scenarios.

Results

The frequency distributions of SKILLS scores did not show significant differences between scores of metacognition, metamotivation, memory, critical thinking, or resource management. The following chart displays the ranking of the mean scores, the standard deviation and the range of the scores of each of the five learning strategy scores of SKILLS.

Table 1: SKILLS Learning Strategy Scores

Learning Strategy	Mean Score	Rank	Stan. Dev.	Range
metacognition	24.8	1	3.05	11 - 33
resource management	24.1	2	1.91	8 - 32
metamotivation	24.0	3	3.02	16 - 32
critical thinking	23.8	4	3.13	10 - 32
memory	22.3	5	2.95	14 - 30

The results of the discriminant analysis showed a relationship between the use of memory skills in real-life and achievement. In using discriminant analysis there are "two sets of variables; one set consists of a collection of response variables, the other set consists of one of more grouping" (Huberty & Barton, 1989, p. 158). In this study the response variables consisted of the SKILLS scores. The participants were separated into three groups. These groups consisted of student GPAs of the bottom 15%, a middle group comprising the middle 70% of student GPAs, and the top 15% of student GPAs. For this study, identification of variables which could predict membership in the bottom and top GPAs were of interest. SKILLS scores related to memory learning strategies were able to predict top and bottom student GPA membership with 71% accuracy. Most important were memory learning strategies related to organization of material and use of external memory aids.

Organization of material involves reordering or restructuring of information from that which was originally presented (Seamon, 1980) and fitting the new information into internal and preexisting frameworks of knowledge. The fit of the new information into existing knowledge frameworks enhances recall and ensures that the information is understood. More simply put it means relating new information to what a student already knows. External memory aids involve manipulating the environment to ensure recall. Examples include appointment books, making a list of things to do, or asking another to remind you of something (Rivera, 1984). The analysis of the two groups showed that students who used these two learning strategies in real-life situations had GPAs in the top 15% of the sample. Those who did not use these learning strategies had GPA's in the bottom 15%.

Analysis of variance procedures were used to examine relationships between educational, demographic, and cultural variables and the use of learning strategies. Two questions were culturally related. Native American participants were asked to rate themselved on an 11 point scale as either "traditional" Native Americans or "non-traditional" Native Americans. Another question asked what percentage of time English was spoken in the home. Significance was judged at the < .05 level.

The researchers felt that both of these culturally related questions provided insight into how the participants' considered themselves in regard to assimilation into mainstream American culture. Moreover, a belief that Native Americans were not culturally monolithic and that the Native American population contained individuals who covered a wide range of types of acculturation underlay the inclusion of this question.

In regard to the degree of time English is spoken in the home, participants' responses were grouped into three categories. Percentages of the total are in parenthesis. Group 1 (15%) indicated they spoke English 50% or less of the time. Group 2 (20%) indicated that English was spoken 50% to 95% of the time. Group 3 (65%) reported speaking English 95% of the time or more in the home. Group 2 scored significantly higher than Group 3 on the monitoring subscale of the metacognition learning strategies. (F=3.99, df=2/195, p=.02). Monitoring is defined as the learner periodically checking the effectiveness of their learning plan. Additionally, Group 1 scored higher than Groups 2 and 3 on the metamotivation learning strategy scale. Significant differences were found between Group 1 and both Groups 2 and 3 (F=4.01, df=2/195, p=.02). Metamotivation is defined as the internal processes of focusing attention, judging relevance of material, having confidence, and experiencing satisfaction, which drive the learning process (Fellenz & Conti, 1991b). The results inferred that those who spoke Native American languages in the home were more aware of and willing to monitor their learning process and would use internal motivational strategies more than those who primarily spoke English.

The groupings of those participants who answered the question concerning degree of Native American traditionalism are given below. Percentages of the total are in parenthesis. Group 1, the "most traditional" (39%) had ratings of "1" to "4." Group 2 (23%) had ratings of "5." Group 3 (24%) had ratings of "6" to "8." Group 4, the "most non-traditional" (15%) had ratings of "9" to "11." Group 3 scored significantly higher (F=1.86, df=3/165, p=.04) than any of the other groups on the organization subscale of memory learning strategies. The results inferred that those who rated themselves toward the non-traditional end of the scale were more likely to use the memory learning strategy of organization of material. Organization of material involves restructuring of information and fitting the new information into internal frameworks of knowledge (Seamon, 1980).

Discussion

The finding that learning strategies of memory were related to prediction of student GPAs may be of significance to tribal college faculty, administrators and students. Results showed that memory skills used in real-life extend to use in the classroom. This finding could be used as part of a base for planning workshops on effective study skills. Organization of material and external aids to memory may be areas to address which could effectively have an impact on grades.

Faculty, interested in improving retention and achievement, may want to ensure that material they present relates in some way to what students already know. Organization of material relates to fitting new information into internal knowledge frameworks. Students who have little prior knowledge of a subject appear to be at a distinct disadvantage when new material is offered. A student's background in a subject should be considered if understanding, retention, and use of new material is to be fostered.

Administrators should be aware of the learning strategies which are related to high and low achievement in their institutions. They may note the absence of learning strategies related to critical thinking or critical use of resources. If memory learning strategies are those which garner high achievement then are the learning tasks asked of students only related to memorization? Tribal college administrators may feel more curricular emphasis should be placed on critical or reflective thinking.

Findings related to those participants who spoke English less than 50% of the time in the home may also have implications for tribal colleges. Students who used native languages in the home appeared to be aware of and use learning strategies related to metacognition and metamotivation more than other participants.

Several questions arise out of these findings. Do students who routinely speak other languages at home have to work differently in order to succeed at the tribal college? The question may also be raised as to whether the learning needs related to metacognition and metamotivation for these bilingual Native Americans are being met. Further research is needed to investigate whether these Native Americans differ substantially in any other ways from more mainstream acculturated Native Americans.

The results also inferred that those who rated themselves as non-traditional Native Americans were more likely to use the memory learning strategy of internal organization. Participants who rated themselves as traditional were less inclined to use this learning strategy. Since memory learning strategies may be a key to higher achievement it appears to be important for faculty to emphasize the use of memory strategies in order to enhance learning. For students, in addition to increased learning, use of this strategy may lead to better grades.

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THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL STRUCTURAL FACTORS ON THE EXPANSION OF ADULT LITERACY PROGRAMS

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This paper examines the effects of social, political and economic context on the expansion of state-funded adult literacy programs over a recent 20-year span(1970-1989). Hierarchical multiple regression is used as the method to determine the impact of the social structural factors on the expansion of the total participation, ESL, ABE/HSE program types and black and white participation.

Introduction and Background

Research on participation in adult education has been predominantly focused around individual variables. From the earliest participation study (e.g. Johnstone and Rivera, 1965) to more recent ones (e.g., Cervero and Kirkpatrick, 1989) have maintained this tradition, assuming that the individual decision of participation is determined by a array of individual-level attributes and operates under a "free market" model where opportunities are equally distributed. Little attention has been paid to the impact of factors beyond the individual's immediate conditions. From a sociological viewpoint, objective conditions exist in society that have a manifest impact on the individual's choice of educational participation as well as a social group's educational activity (Huang, Benavot, Cervero, 1990, AERC). This research, assuming that the impact of objective social structure on education behavior is reflected on different social groups, investigates the effect of social structural factors on participation activity.

Table 1 demonstrates the change of participation rate on state-funded adult literacy programs between 1970-89 for total participation, ESL, ABE/HSE program types and black and white participation. As we examine the mean change of each group, very different patterns can be observed. Comparing the two program types, the absolute amount of change is only 1.8 for ESL program and 7.4 for ABE/HSE program. When the percentage of the target population for these two programs is taken into consideration (the percentage of foreign born population is less than 10 percent of the total population, and the change of ESL program is about 24 percent of the ABE/HSE program), the increase of ESL participation is considerably larger than that of ABE/HSE. The same situation exists between the amount of black and white participation. The change for black participation is about double the size of white; when the proportion of black population is taken into consideration (black population is about one forth of white population), the increase of black participation is much greater than that of white.

Table 1. The change of state-funded adult literacy program participation rate (1970-1989) for total participation, ESL, ABE/HSE programs, black and white participation.

Var.	Mean	Std dev.	Min	Max	N
Total	9.213	15.424	-.23	106.48	50
ESL	1.806	2.303	-0.33	13.59	50
ABE/HSE	7.406	14.501	-.007	101.76	50
Black	8.018	13.753	-6.64	66.31	47
White	4.118	3.358	-.08	14.39	47

From observing these different change rates, one can conclude that there must be some kind of mechanism directing the different pattern of participation among these groups. In the present research, an angle of broader social context of adult literacy participation is employed. The impact of social, political and economic context on the change of participation rate is investigated on the five groups mentioned above. The fifty states serve as the unit of analysis since the funding and administration of the program are implemented through the state government. Each state's social, political and economic characteristics are operationalized into factors that are assumed to have an impact on the expansion of adult literacy programs.

Research Design and Methodology

Panel data analysis serves as the analytical method because of its specialty in detecting temporal causal relations among variables. A panel of information on a twenty-year period is collected to investigate the long-term impact of early state characteristics on the change of participation rates. There are five panel models in this research. The purpose of these five panels is to compare between program types and between race. They are the total participation, ESL programs vs. ABE/HSE program, black participation and white participation. Each panel model is investigated under a separate panel of data. Both 1970 and 1989 data on adult literacy participation are used as the measurement of dependent variables and the source of data is The Division of Adult Education in Washington. Independent variables are collected only for 1970 and the source of the data is government documentation such as The Bureau of Census 1970.

Six categories of social factors and one group of control variables are included as independent variables. The six categories of social factors represent different aspect of social characteristics of the state. They are: 1) the provision to adult literacy programs (state share of program funding, number of state program administrators, number of program staff) 2) demographic context (median age of the population, level of urbanization, percentage of foreign-born population), 3) economic context (percentage of people in poverty, income per capita, state's expenditure on welfare), 4) educational context (medium year of schooling for age above 25, high school enrollment rate, state's expenditure on education), 5) labor force structure (unemployment rate, percent of manu workers), 6) political orientations (percentage of Republican state legislators and representatives),

Analysis and Findings

Hierarchical multiple regression is used to test the effect of each category of variables. One category of variables is added to the equations each time according to their relative importance in this research context. The order of entering these categories is the same as the section of variable description listed earlier. There are a total of seven equations in one analysis. The seven R square is used to determine the effect of the category of variables. The importance of a certain category of variables is decided by the increase of R square compared to the preceding equation. The level of the R square change is tested by the increments in proportion of variance accounted for (Pedhazur, 1982, p.62).

The importance of an individual variable is also evaluated by the magnitude of the significant level of its regression coefficient. In this research, a p value less than .10 is counted as significant. The important categories of variables and individual variables are reported in Tables 2-6 following (unimportant variables are excluded from the tables).

Total participation

The categories of demographic, economic and political context of the state are found to be strongly influential based on the significant change of R square from the preceding equation. The source of influence of demographic context comes from the variable foreign-born population, which has a significant positive effect across the equations. In the category of economic context, income per capita has a significant negative effect. In the category of political context, Republican state legislators has a significant negative effect. The individual variable state fund appears significant five times out of the six equations after it is entered. State fund is positively influential to the expansion of total participation.

Table 2. Hierarchical regression for total participation.

Equations no.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Control Variables							
West	19.86(.57)**		7.98(.54)^				9.22(.63)*
South	11.69(.35)*		9.86(.62)*	8.55(.59)*	8.71(.60)*	8.80(.61)^	
Northeast			7.76(.50)*	6.43(.41)*	6.31(.40)^	6.43(.41)^	7.77(.48)*
Population increase	-32.25(-.69)**						
Adult Education System							
State fund		.22(.42)**		.29(.54)**	.29(.54)**	.29(.54)*	.33(.63)**
State administrators		.81(.32)*					
Total personnel							
Demographic Context							
Median age							1.06(.29)*
Urbanization							
Foreign-born population			2.07(.78)**	2.11(.79)**	2.16(.81)**	2.15(.81)**	2.14(.80)**
Economic Context							
Poverty							-.84(-.76)*
Income per capita				-.01(-1.03)**	-.01(-1.03)**	-.01(-1.07)*	-.01(-1.24)**
Public welfare expenditure				-.39(-.29)^			
Educational Context							
Median years of schooling							
High school enrollment							
State educational expenditure							
Labor Force							
Unemployment							
Manual labor force							
Political Context							
State legislators (Republican)							-.24(-.73)**
Lower house representatives (Republican)							
Adj. R^2	.272	.289	.395	.598	.564	.531	.658
R^2	.331	.402	.532	.717	.722	.723	.817
F of R^2 change		1.666	3.61	7.845	.002	.056	7.460
Significant level of R^2 change		.187	.021*	.0006**	.9999	.9999	.0028**

** = P value less than 0.01 * = P value less than .05 ^ = P value less than .10

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ESL program

The categories of adult education system, demographic context and labor force are important to the expansion of ESL program participation. The individual variable foreign-born population stays positively significant all through the last five equations.

Table 3. Hierarchical regression for ESL program.

Equations no.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Control Variables							
West			32.91(.38)*	34.10(.60)*			
South			36.03(.65)*	32.46(.58)*	31.94(.57)*		
Northeast			26.57(.44)*	29.50(.49)*	24.46(.41)*		
Population increase		34.64(.38)*					
Adult Education System							
State fund		.99(.48)**					
State administrators							
Total personnel							
Demographic Context							
Median age							
Urbanization							
Foreign-born population			6.72(.65)*	7.52(.73)**	6.84(.66)*	5.53(.53)*	5.63(.54)*
Economic Context							
Poverty							
Income per capita							
Public welfare expenditure							
Educational Context							
Median years of schooling							
High school enrollment							
State educational expenditure							
Labor Force							
Unemployment							
Manual labor force						-2.19(-.32)^	-2.13(-.31)^
Political Context							
State legislators (Republican)							
Lower house representatives (Republican)							
Adj. R^2	.046	.311	.518	.522	.504	.569	.587
R^2	.123	.437	.628	.663	.684	.745	.779
F of R^2 change		8.810	6.680	1.246	.731	3.710	2.230
Significant level of R^2 change		.0005**	.0013**	.3071	.7326	.0350*	.1240

** = P value less than 0.01   * = P value less than .05   ^ = P value less than .10

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ABE/HSE program

Economic and political context are found to be significantly influential to ABE/HSE program participation. Variables in both categories are found to have negative effect. All three variables in the economic context are important. Among these three variables, income per capita is the most important variable followed by then poverty and public welfare expenditure. The proportion of Republican state legislators is also important. The individual variable state fund has a positive effect five out of the last six equations.

Table 4. Hierarchical regression for ABE/HSE program.

Equation no.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Control Variables							
West	184.41(.56)**						67.05(.59)*
South	114.48(.37)*			53.12(.48)^		73.11(.68)^	
Northeast						49.28(.41)^	59.18(.48)*
Population increase	-330.23(-.75)**						
Adult Education System							
State fund		1.26(.30)*		2.61(.63)**	2.52(.61)**	2.35(.57)*	2.75(.67)**
State administrators		7.93(.41)*	6.63(.34)^				
Total personnel							
Demographic Context							
Median age							7.06(.25)^
Urbanization							
Foreign-born population			9.01(.44)^	13.59(.66)*	14.79(.72)*	16.04(.78)*	15.77(.77)**
Economic Context							
Poverty				-4.49(-.52)^	-5.48(-.63)^	-5.78(-.67)^	-10.06(-1.17)**
Income per capita				-.13(-1.33)**	-.13(-1.34)**	-.15(-1.36)**	-.18(-1.57)**
Public welfare expenditure				-4.58(-.44)**			-3.80(-.36)^
Educational Context							
Median years of schooling							
High school enrollment							
State educational expenditure							
Labor Force							
Unemployment							
Manual labor force							
Political Context							
State legislators (Republican)							-2.07(-.79)**
Lower house representatives (Republican)							
Adj. R^2	.328	.167	.195	.542	.504	.496	.603
R^2	.383	.299	.359	.677	.684	.702	.820
F of R^2 change		-1.677	1.219	11.910	.243	.936	14.75
Significant level of R^2 change		.5599	.3155	.0001**	.9896	.6245	.0002**

** = P value less than 0.01 * = P value less than .05 ^ = P value less than .10

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Black participation

Adult education system and political context are influential to the change of black participation, but none of the individual variables could be concluded as important. This result is interesting in that none of the individual social structural variables is significant enough to show its influence on the increase of black participation.

Table 5. Hierarchical regression for black participation.

Equations no.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Control Variables							
West							
South							
Northeast							
Population increase	14.90(.40)*	14.66(.38)*			29.38(.71)*		
Adult Education System							
State fund							
State administrators		3.21(.55)*	2.56(.43)+				
Total personnel		-.01(-.36)+					
Demographic Context							
Median age							
Urbanization							
Foreign-born population							
Economic Context							
Poverty							
Income per capita							
Public welfare expenditure							
Educational Context							
Median years of schooling							
High school enrollment							
State educational expenditure							
Labor Force							
Unemployment							
Manual labor force							
Political Context							
State legislators (Republican)							
Lower house representatives (Republican)							
Adj. R^2	.063	.173	.213	.184	.163	.099	.113
R^2	.144	.311	.400	.443	.498	.504	.567
F of R^2 change		3.353	1.934	.928	1.203	.187	2.837
Significant level of R^2 change		.0272*	.1389	.6295	.3239	.9953	.0734+

** = P value less than 0.01   * = P value less than .05   + = P value less than .10

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White participation

Adult education system, economic context, labor force and political context are important categories to the change of white participation. The individual variable state fund is significant in two out of six equations. Poverty rate, income per capita and public welfare expenditure have a significant negative effect four out the last four equations. Unemployment rate is significant one out of the last two equations, and the percentage of Republican state legislators is also important.

Table 6. Hierarchical regression for white participation.

Equations no.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Control Variables							
West							
South						6.37(.89)*	4.96(.69)^
Northeast						4.20(.54)*	4.57(.57)*
Population increase							
Adult Education System							
State fund				.16(.60)*	.138(.52)^		
State administrators		.60(.43)^					
Total personnel		-.003(-.34)^					
Demographic Context							
Median age							.77(.43)*
Urbanization							
Foreign-born population							
Economic Context							
Poverty				-.44(-.79)*	-.50(-.91)^	-.54(-.97)*	-.78(-1.40)**
Income per capita				-.01(-1.33)**	-.01(-1.18)*	-.008(-1.14)*	-.01(-1.47)**
Public welfare expenditure				-.30(-.45)*		-.29(-.43)^	-.31(-.47)^
Educational Context							
Median years of schooling							
High school enrollment							
State educational expenditure							
Labor Force							
Unemployment						.33(.52)*	
Manual labor force							
Political Context							
State legislators (Republican)							-.11(-.62)*
Lower house representatives (Republican)							
Adj. R^2	-.016	.026	-.011	.264	.227	.414	.469
R^2	.071	.188	.229	.491	.521	.665	.728
F of R^2 change		5.57	.691	6.191	.0689	6.666	3.361
Significant level of R^2 change		.0030**	.7382	.0020**	.9999	.0042**	.0475*

** = P value less than 0.01 * = P value less than .05 ^ = P value less than .10

Discussion

Based on the above five panel data analysis, adult education system, economic context and political context are the three most influential categories to the expansion of adult literacy participation. The provision of the program plays a role in enhancing the growth of total participation rate. The percentage of Republican state legislators, the poverty rate, income per capita play a role in retarding the growth of total participation rate.

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The result of the analysis demonstrates a different pattern of effect of social structural factors on the two program types and the two race participation. The increase of ESL participation rate is simply influenced by demographic context in which foreign-born population is important. But the increase of ABE/HSE participation rate is much more affected by adult education system, the economic and political context. The ABE/HSE program is also affected by the proportion of foreign-born population within the state, which may suggest that the foreign-born population demands a great deal of help from the state-funded adult basic education, not only for language but also for educational certification. State fund is important to ABE/HSE program but not to ESL program. The state's monetary investment does affect ABE/HSE participation. The more a state spent on the program, the better the outcome for ABE/HSE program development. State fund does not matter to ESL participation, which might indicate that the demand for language skills is so strong that the provision from the state does not influence the growth of the program. The proportion of Republican state legislators in the state negatively influences the ABE/HSE program but has no impact on ESL program.

Generally speaking, the two program types in the state-funded adult literacy program have different audiences and their development is influenced by different aspects of the state's social structure. The development of ABE/HSE is much more limited by the social structure within the state. The economic, political context and adult education system affect the expansion of the ABE/HSE program in a rather complicated manner. On the other hand, the relatively fast growth of the ESL program and its loose connection to the state's social structures indicate that the expansion of the ESL program is much more free of the social context.

The pattern of the impact of social structural factors is also different between black and white participation. Whites are more involved and affected by the economic and political context of the states, while blacks are only slightly affected by the state's adult education system and political context. Generally speaking, the expansion of white participation is much more influenced and limited by the state's economic, political and adult education system. The growth of white participation depends much more upon the broad social context than black participation does. As for black participation, with its comparatively large increase of participation rate (as reported in Table 1) and its loose connection with the broad social context, it can be concluded that the expansion of black participation is more free from the restraint of the broad social context.

Conclusion

The primary research orientation of adult literacy participation has been centered around identifying individual levels of variables such as psychological characteristics, personal attributes, and perceptions of barriers which only explain an individual's decision to participate. This research assumed that objective conditions that exist in society have a manifest impact on individuals as well as among social groups. Under the guidance of this theoretical framework, this study investigated the impact of social structural factors on the expansion of total participation, ESL and ABE/HSE program types and also black and white participation. Different patterns of effect are found for these five groups of analysis. This research not only brings an alternative viewpoint to the tradition of participation research but also serves as a base for future research into the line of inquiry in sociology of adult education.

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COMPLETION AND NONCONTINUATION IN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION: TESTING A PREDICTION MODEL

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The primary purpose of this study was the development and testing of a prediction model for identifying participants who are potentially "at risk" of noncontinuation in Adult Basic Education (ABE). Discriminant analysis was used as the statistical tool. Measures of age and TABE math and reading scores were used from a population of 2323 participants enrolled in an ABE program. The model successfuly classified completing and continuing participants but was not successful in predicting noncontinuing participants.

Adult illiteracy in the United States is a problem of enormous proportions and one with far-reaching implications. (Brizius & Foster, 1987; Hunter & Harman, 1979; Kozol, 1985; Reder, 1985; Sticht, 1988-89). Many attempts have been made to reduce illiteracy in the United States and programs sponsored by the Adult Education Act have been in the forefront. Since 1980, there has been a 48% increase in the number of adults enrolled in Adult Education. Researchers estimate that between 10 and 60% do not continue long enough in ABE classes to reach a goal (Grede & Friedlander, 1981; Mezirow, Darkenwald, & Knox, 1975; Sainty, 1971). In some areas, the noncontinuation rate may be as high as 80% (Dirkx & Jha, 1991). Given these high noncontinuation rates in ABE, there is a compelling need to better understand the factors that contribute to participants' decisions to continue with or withdraw from their ABE programs. The bulk of noncontinuation studies are descriptive in nature. Recent research which has focused on psychosocial factors is more theoretically sophisticated but these studies rely primarily on measures and instrumentation which are often difficult and expensive to implement in ABE settings. Taken as a whole, this body of research has enhanced our knowledge of the ABE student and provides models which might identify potential "at risk" participants. What is needed, however, is more research which focuses on variables and measurement techniques which are readily accessible to the ABE practitioner.

To address this need, this study developed and tested a prediction model utilizing the readily available variables of participant age and entry level math and reading scores. Age has been used in a variety of studies to determine its relationship to student attrition (Anderson & Darkenwald, 1979; Boshier, 1973; Bosma, 1988; Cramer, 1982; Diekhoff & Diekhoff, 1984; Sainty, 1971; Smith, 1985; Weisel, 1980). Academic ability, as measured by achievement tests, has also been studied as a factor in noncontinuation (Baldwin, 1990; Bosma, 1988; Clemens, 1983; Cross, 1981; Kronick & Hargis, 1990). In addition, researchers have indicated that entry level tests may have some use in screening and identifying "at risk" participants (Bosma, 1988; Long, 1981; Martin, 1988; Smith, 1985; Weisel, 1980). On this basis, the present study used entry level (Test of Adult Basic Education) TABE reading and math scores and age to build a prediction model which would differentiate participants who continue from those who withdraw and which could be of immediate use to ABE practitioners.

Methods

A post hoc design was used to examine patterns of continuation and noncontinuation among 2323 participants enrolled in an urban, midwestern, ABE program during fiscal years 1988-90. Analysis focused specifically on age and entry-level math and reading scores. These scores were determined using the TABE, which is administered to most participants in this program. Three groups of participants were identified, based on goal completion; continuing, completing, and noncontinuing. Descriptive statistics were utilized for central tendencies and spread. An ANOVA was used to determine variances for the discriminant analysis. A full model discriminant analysis was used to generate and test the prediction model using the three chosen variables of age and entry level math and reading scores.

Findings

Of the population studied, 22% of participants completed a goal, nine percent continued in the program, and 67% discontinued during the study period. Missing data accounted for the remaining two percent. The mean age in the study population was 27 but a wide age range (16-76) was observed. However, 66% of the participants were 29 or younger. Only 4.5% of the participants were over age 50, and the largest grouping of participants (37%) was 21-29. Of the study population, 29% were 20 or younger. At a significance level of .05, the ANOVA found no differences among the groups based on age, but did find significant differences among the three groups based on math and reading scores. The three variables used in the discriminant analysis resulted in one significant function that discriminated on the basis of the math, reading, and age. Of all the variance accounted for by the discriminant functions, the first discriminant function accounted for 99.97%. A second, non-significant discriminant function accounted for .03% of the variance. Correlation of the discriminant function was determined using canonical correlation which resulted in a score of .35.

Unstandardized scores were used for the discriminant function. In this case, the reading score contributed most strongly, although it could not be compared to math or age at this point because the scores were unstandardized. Once the discriminant function was determined, the unstandardized scores were standardized by multiplying the unstandardized scores by the standard deviation of each mean. The data were then interpreted by first looking at the structure matrix. The structure matrix shows the unique correlation of each predictor to the discriminant function. The matrix score, .98 for reading, indicated a very strong correlation as did math at a correlation of .78. The standardized coefficients were then examined. These scores explained how salient each variable was in the function. When these scores were analyzed, reading (.82) stood out clearly as the variable contributing most strongly to the function and math (.26) lost much of the strength it seemed to have in the structure matrix. Throughout all the steps in the discriminant function, age was not a significant variable, although it did meet the minimum tolerance level of .001, the level of variance necessary to remain in the model.

Based on the discriminant function, 43% of the cases were correctly classified as to participants who completed, who continued and who did not continue, compared to 33% by chance. Completing participants were identified correctly 70% of the time and continuing participants 58% of the time. The model, however, was not successful in predicting noncontinuing participants and scattered these participants fairly evenly throughout each of the model categories.

Discussion

Results of this study support previous research indicating that demographic variables are not particularly effective for differentiating among participants who complete, continue or discontinue classes in ABE. The demographic variable used in this study was age. Although younger age is associated with noncontinuation in some studies, age was not a factor in the prediction model when used in conjunction with math and reading scores. This finding is supported by several previous studies which also found that age was not a strong factor in predicting noncontinuation. Higher reading and math scores, as demonstrated in the prediction model, are correlated with the prediction of ABE completion, a finding also consistent with previous research.

Our findings indicate that academic preparation and ability probably do not significantly enter into decisions to not continue. Participants who discontinue, especially those who leave before they complete 12 hours of instruction, demonstrate both the grade level achievement and the academic ability to perform and complete academic goals. Hence, other factors must enter into decisions to withdraw. Future research needs to systematically explore other combinations of variables which may help account for these decisions.

The largest segment of those who discontinue attendance in ABE within the population studied do so before completing 12 hours of instruction (Dirkx & Jha, 1991). Apparently, something very early in the participants' experiences with the program strongly influences them to decide to not continue. Increasing availability of services such as childcare and transportation reduce the significance of situational factors in noncontinuation. Thus, research must begin to focus on other possible explanations. One of these may be related to assessment and testing. The sharp differences in missing data for the discriminant analysis among those who completed and those who withdrew before completing 12 hours of instruction suggest a possible effect of testing on new enrollees. The ABE participants who withdrew from the program early (12- participants) often did not complete the testing process. It is possible that many of the 12- participants did not return either because of perceptions of poor performance on the entry-level tests completed or because of anxiety created by taking the tests in a new situation.

Thus, decisions to leave prior to 12 hours of instruction would appear to be heavily influenced by programmatic and/or psychosocial factors. Preliminary analysis from a collaborative project between practitioners and researchers (Dirkx & Jha, 1991) supports this assertion. Additional work is needed to corroborate or clarify these early program experiences. These issues could be addressed through the development of prediction models with variables which are readily measurable and testing them through large sample sizes in a discriminant analysis. This approach, which relies on retrospective study of ABE participants, could also be augmented with prospective, longitudinal studies (Willet & Singer, 1991) utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methods. Such a comprehensive approach may be required to fully understand the complex phenomenon of ABE noncontinuation. Qualitative studies are especially needed to further explore the ways in which various psychosocial and socio-cultural factors influence participants' decisions about noncontinuation (Fingaret, 1983; Quigley, 1990; Trueba, Spindler, & Spindler, 1989).

The study's findings also hold implications for ABE practice. Results of the study were positive for predicting those who complete and to a somewhat lesser extent those who continue in the program. Practitioners might use this information to target participants with high scores and develop curricular and instructional plans which are more congruent with their educational achievements and abilities. Such educational planning may provide a more direct and relevant means for these participants to complete their educational goals in ABE and improve the utilization of scarce instructional and curricular resources in these settings.

Conclusion

This study presents results of the development and testing of a model for predicting continuation, completion, and noncontinuation in ABE. The findings indicate that the model was partially successful, predicting continuation and completion. It was not successful, however, in identifying those ABE participants who chose to not continue in the program. The results of this study point to further areas of research that are needed, including a thorough examination of the impact of testing on the ABE participant, the inter-relationship between program context and participants' needs, and intensive qualitative studies which focus on socio-cultural and psychosocial issues as well as on social networks. Such research would be facilitated through collaborative relationships between researchers and practitioners. In these projects, several areas of practice might be addressed, including consideration of the implementation of effective participant orientations, the development of strategies to facilitate progress of participants with higher entry-level scores, consideration of modifications to the procedures used for administration of entry-level tests, and the implementation of strategies for giving feedback on assessments which would minimize the anxiety of entry level testing.

This study, as well as many in the past, used traditional quantitative methods in an attempt to better understand ABE noncontinuation. Sole reliance on the quantitative approach appears limited in developing a deeper understanding of this problem. A multi-dimensional perspective is needed, including intensive in-depth interviews with participants and investigations of socio-cultural contexts.

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A CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR GROUP LEARNING

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A model for group learning is derived from case study data and theoretical analysis. The model posits the interrelationship among three elements: developmental phases of group learning, learning processes, and types of learning.

Purpose and Rationale

The pace of change in the twentieth century challenges individuals, their organizations and social institutions to develop skills of adaptation and continuous re-creation. One response to this challenge is an emerging vision of "the learning organization." A learning organization, according to Peter Senge (1990) is "an organization that is continually expanding its capacity to create its future" in which " 'adaptive learning' must be joined by 'generative learning,' learning that enhances our capacity to create." (p.14) Senge goes on to argue that teams "are becoming the key learning unit in organizations" and that "individual learning, at some level, is irrelevant for organizational learning." (p.236) He concludes his argument thus:

> Despite its importance, team learning remains poorly understood. Until we can describe the phenomenon better, it will remain mysterious. Until we have some theory of what happens when teams learn (as opposed to individuals in teams learning), we will be unable to distinguish group intelligence from "group think," when individuals succumb to group pressures for conformity. Until there are reliable methods for building teams that can learn together, its occurrence will remain a product of happenstance. This is why mastering team learning will be a critical step in building learning organizations. (p.238)

Although we do not concur with all of Senge's reasoning, we do concur that team learning is poorly understood and that an enhanced understanding of team learning is needed in order to understand how a learning organization is birthed and nurtured. It is the purpose of this paper to enhance understanding of team learning. In the paper we 1) present a model derived from case study data and theoretical analysis, 2) illustrate the model with an example from our data, and 3) discuss how our model enhances what has been written about or observed by others.

Theory Base

Because our model is derived in part from theoretical analysis, it is appropriate to describe briefly theories that influence our beliefs about learning. To date, the bulk of theoretical analysis and empirical inquiry regarding learning is created in the context of individual learning. When Senge asserts that "individual learning, at some level, is irrelevant for organizational learning" he probably means that the power of one individual's learning to effect significant change in the organization is limited. With this we concur. However, we believe it is a mistake to infer that an understanding of individual learning is irrelevant to unlocking the mysteries of team learning. Because organizations and the teams who learn on their behalf are composed of individuals, an understanding of how individuals learn can help us understand how groups learn. The model of group learning that we present in this paper is heavily influenced by Jack Mezirow's conceptualization of adult learning (1991) and by theories about the relationship between individual learning and experience, such as those espoused by David Kolb (1984), Peter Jarvis (1987), and Donald Schön (1983).

We turn to Mezirow for clarification about different types of individual learning. Mezirow defines learning as "the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or a revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience in order to guide future action." (p.12) Mezirow distinguishes instrumental, communicative, and emancipatory learning. Instrumental learning is a process of acquiring new meaning "in task-oriented problem solving by testing a hypothetical meaning scheme that we believe will...permit greater control over a problem situation." (p.74) Communicative learning is a process of "learning to understand what others mean and to make ourselves understood as we attempt to share ideas...." (p.75) Emancipatory learning is a process of acquiring new meaning "through critical self-reflection....[that frees us from]...forces that limit our options and our rational control over our lives but have been taken for granted or seen as beyond human control. These forces include the misconceptions, ideologies, and psychological distortions in prior learning...." (p.87)

We turn to Kolb for a discussion of the relationship between learning and experience. Drawing on conceptualizations put forward by John Dewey, Kurt Lewin, and Jean Piaget, Kolb defines learning as "the process whereby knowledge is created through a transformation of experience" (p.38) when experience is understood to be an interaction between the learner's internal, subjective world and the objective conditions present in the learner's environment. Noting that Dewey, Lewin, and Piaget each suggest that learning results from the resolution of conflict between opposing ways of dealing with the world, and drawing on Freire's beliefs about the learning dialectic of reflection and action, Kolb proposes his own dialectic theory of experiential learning. Kolb posits four learning modes, each mode a pole on what Kolb calls "dimensions" of learning. One dimension describes how we resolve the dialectic between the modes of sensing and conceptualizing when we grasp our experience; the other how we resolve the dialectic between the modes of observing and acting when we transform experience into knowledge. On both, one pole represents the learner's thinking processes; the other pole, the learner's environment.

Model of Group Learning

Our model for group learning posits relationships between developmental phases, learning processes, and type of learning. We have described elsewhere characteristics of group learning phases and qualitative differences in the way in which learning processes are enacted in each phase (Marsick, Dechant, and Kasl, 1991; Dechant and Marsick, 1991; Dechant and Marsick, forthcoming). We define **four developmental phases of group learning**:

Phase 1: Contained Learning - A group exists by designation only, but individuals have not yet begun to form a committed group identity. Learning, if any, is contained within individual members.
Phase 2: Collected Learning - Individuals in group begin to share information and meaning perspectives. Group now has an aggregate of individual knowledge, but not yet an experience of knowledge that is uniquely the group's own.
Phase 3: Constructed Learning - Group creates knowledge of its own, based on integration of individuals' knowledge and meaning perspectives.
Phase 4: Continuous Learning - Group habituates processes of transforming its experience into knowledge.

We conceptualize **learning processes** as dialectic integrations of reflection and action. They are:

Framing - Reframing - Framing is initial perception of an issue, situation, person, or object based on past understanding and present input. Reframing is a process of transforming that perception into a new understanding or frame.

Integrating Perspectives - Synthesis of divergent views, such that apparent conflicts are resolved through dialectical thinking, not compromise or majority rule.

Experimenting - Action taken for testing hypotheses or moves, or discovery.

Crossing Boundaries - Communication between individuals and/or groups.

This model of group learning emerged through our research team's iterative reflection on theory and case study data. At this time, our data are limited and our thinking in flux. This paper adds conceptually to our previous work by suggesting how different **types of learning** relate to **phases of group learning**, with their attendant qualitative differences in the way **learning processes** are used. This conceptual addition is pictured in Figure 1 below, composed of four different sketches. Each sketch demonstrates how one of the four phases of group learning relates to key variables pictured on two opposing axes. The vertical axis represents two kinds of learning identified by Senge, adaptive and generative. Adaptive learning is appropriate for solving problems; generative learning is a creative process that is the defining essence of the learning organization. The horizontal axis represents the learning system, with individual person at one pole and learning group at the other.

The bounded area in each sketch represents the space occupied by learning in the four phases of group learning. Thus, **Contained** learning is limited to the individual. It rarely enables group problem solving, and cannot be generative in the context of the group's mission or objectives because perspectives are not shared and boundaries are not crossed. **Collected** learning begins the movement toward group learning. As individuals share knowledge and meaning schemes they may also begin to develop a sense of group identity and purpose that can enable them to move on to constructed learning. The collected learning phase of the group learning model can embody what Senge refers to as "individuals in teams learning." Individual learning can be dramatic and deeply satisfying and is often facilitated by the context of the group, but the focus is still on individuals. The movement from Collected to **Constructed** learning enables the "magic" of synergy when the whole becomes greater than the parts. The group experiences an identity that enables it to create its own knowledge through transformation of its own experience. It is now that the group learns how to engage in generative learning in service of its own or organizational goals. Finally, the **Continuous** learning phase of our group learning model represents an habituation of generative learning skills, and is at the heart of the learning organization.

In Figure 2 below we integrate Jack Mezirow's theory of adult learning with our emerging view of group learning. The key to moving along the horizontal continuum, from individual to group learning, is the process of communicative learning. For communicative learning, individuals must be able to participate in what Mezirow calls rational discourse and Senge calls dialogue. Conditions for this include an ability among all individuals to identify and dispassionately examine their assumptions, and an ability to hold each other with genuine regard as peers or colleagues.

Identification of assumptions is complex. In considering the dialectic of reflection and action, Mezirow makes the important observation that there are three types of reflection--problem, process, or premise. (pp.104-106) All three might involve the examination of assumptions, but premises are "special cases of assumptions." Only through premise reflection is it possible to experience what Mezirow calls emancipatory learning, a process of freeing ourselves from distorting assumptions. The skills of critical **premise** reflection are prerequisite to what Senge calls generative learning, although Senge does not make this distinction.

Case Study Illustration

We put flesh on our conceptual discussion with an example from our second case study. For this study, we interviewed 23 of 25 members of an intact systems work group who had, during the year preceding our interviews, experienced considerable change. A new director of the Information Technology Department had introduced total quality initiatives, matrix management, and enhanced customer focus. The systems work group's manager held a series of discussions with her staff that eventually led to the institution of self-managed teams. The group organized itself into three primary work teams with non-overlapping systems responsibilities. The newly evolving, self-managed work teams had multiple learning tasks. They had to solve problems that arose in the course of their systems work, and learn self-management.

The Distributed Systems team had a learning experience that illustrates Phase 3 in our group learning model. It was able to **construct** group knowledge through transformation of the group's own experience, serving the group's own goals as well as the organization's. The group's learning is sketched here in broad strokes: This six-person team had one member, Leroy, who had a serious performance problem. The group discovered that the company's personnel department intended to have a performance discussion with Leroy in which he would most likely be placed on probation. The group stepped forward and negotiated with personnel that the group would hold Leroy's performance discussion. The group's reasoning was that personnel's intended action was incongruent with the values of self-managed teams. Thus, this small group took an action that represented generative learning for the larger organization, reframing established personnel procedures that could have been taken-for-granted and unchallenged.

Factors that enabled the Distributed Systems team's generative learning include:

> 1) Members were primarily young professionals new to the company. Unlike the other work teams, where unequal job grades and experience interfered with members' ability to meet the condition of colleagueship described by Mezirow and Senge, Distributed Systems members came to the team as peers.
> 2) Upon formation, the group was immediately thrown into a crisis. Members discovered that Leroy was behind schedule with a software project. During the ensuing work frenzy in which the group cooperated to bring Leroy's project in on time, members learned each other's strengths and weaknesses, including Leroy's strengths as well as his weaknesses.
> 3) Through experimenting with ways of working together, the group learned that honest communication is crucial. Because it had developed group knowledge about honest communication, the group was able to draw on its knowledge and attendant skills to carry out Leroy's performance discussion.
> 4) Because it had lived the experience of self-management, the group was able to recognize the disjuncture between theory and practice inherent in the planned personnel procedure, and to form the group consensus needed to take action.
> 5) When workers from other teams spoke informally with members of the Distributed Systems work team about problems in their own teams, Distributed Systems members gave strong advice about the merits of honest communication. Thus, boundaries were being crossed, spreading the Distributed Systems group knowledge beyond the group.

Discussion

Our model of group learning enhances what has been written by others in several ways. First, it attempts a description of the relationship between individual learning and group learning. Although organization learning specialists may write about individual learning strategies, they tend to give insufficient consideration to the complexity of individual learning. Secondly, our model emphasizes that learning process is a dialectic of reflection and action. Although Mezirow is not unaware of this dialectic, his careful analysis of the cognitive processes involved in learning has the practical effect on the reader of drawing unbalanced attention to cognition. The same observation is applicable to Senge's analysis of team learning. By emphasizing the relationship between reflection and action, our model may better capture the learning processes of ordinary people during the press of daily life.

The conditions for rational discourse as identified by Mezirow, or for dialogue as identified by Senge, are difficult to create. The identification and dispassionate examination of assumptions, the felt respect of colleagueship, are cognitive processes. However, these cognitive processes are greatly aided by lived experience such as the experience we described in our example of the Distributed Systems work team.

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Figures 1 & 2 follow on page 138.

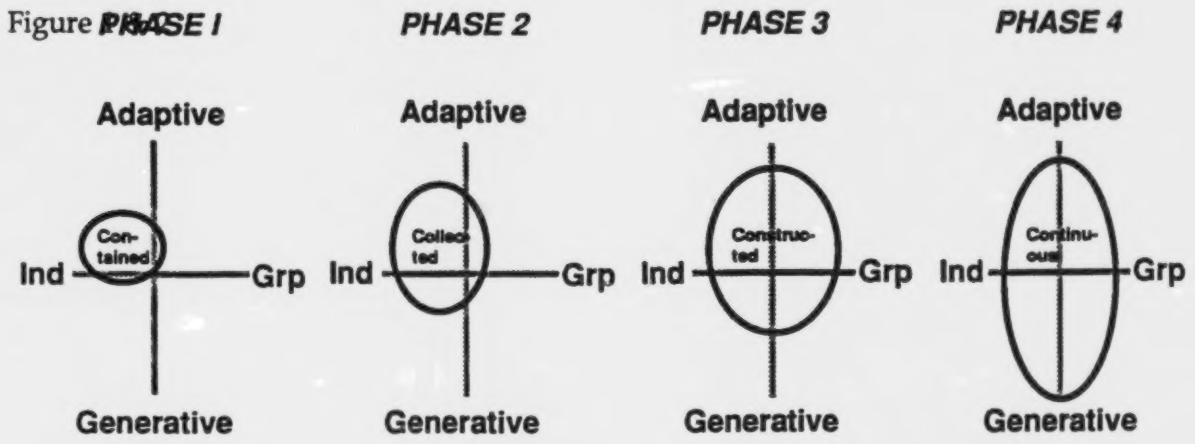
Figure PHASE I
PHASE 2
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Adaptive
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Figure 1. Type of Learning for Each Phase of Group Learning

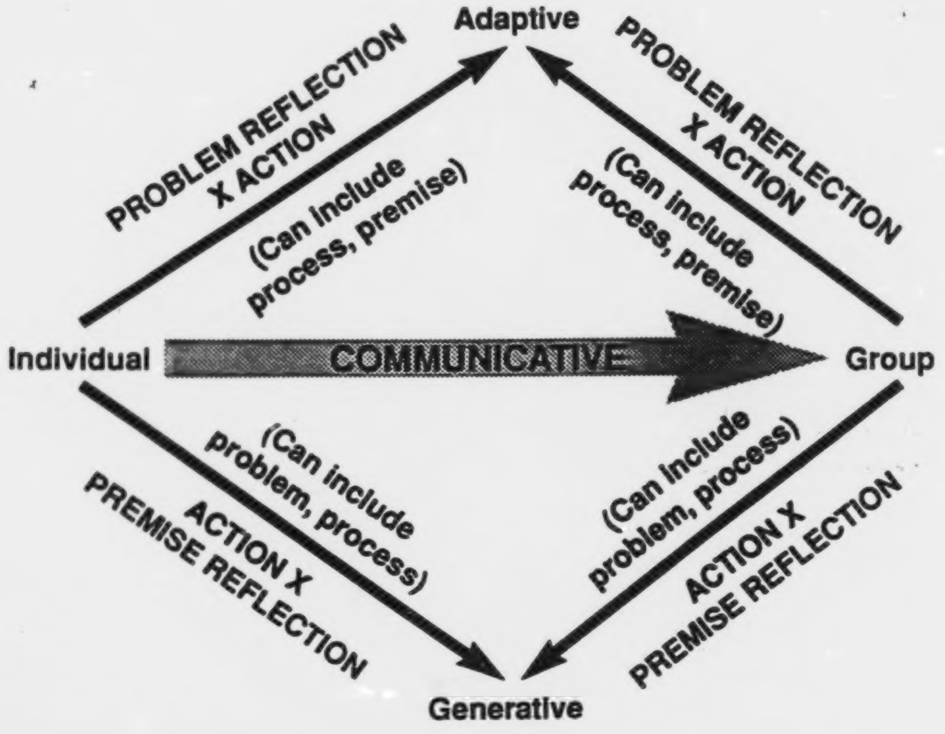
Adaptive
PROBLEM REFLECTION X ACTION
(Can include process, premise)
PROBLEM REFLECTION X ACTION
(Can include process, premise)
Individual
COMMUNICATIVE
Group
(Can include problem, process)
ACTION X PREMISE REFLECTION
(Can include problem, process)
ACTION X PREMISE REFLECTION
Generative

Figure 2. Learning processes and Types of Learning

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ADULT UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS: THEIR PERSPECTIVE OF THE LEARNING EXPERIENCE

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This qualitative case study explored the undergraduate adult perspectives of engagement in learning in relation to the college classroom. Four key patterns were identified. Findings suggest complex and highly varied patterns of beliefs about learning, about actions in learning, and about personal involvement and application of knowledge within and beyond the undergraduate classroom.

Adults (age 25 years and older) now comprise over 40% of American higher education. The majority of these learners participate in collegiate settings which do not cater to adults. They do not participate in specialized adult degree programs, adult experience-based curricula, or self-directed learning environments. Past adult education literature purports that traditional pedagogical classroom formats may be ineffective and possibly detrimental to adult learners. However, there has not been previous studies of the perceptions and beliefs of adult undergraduates regarding their current learning activities and preferred learning environment in the college classroom. This study explores this meaning world of the adult undergraduate learner. The guiding question for this research is: "What is the meaning relationship between the adult learner as student, the acts of collegiate learning, and the adult life context?

Design and Methodology

The study explored descriptive perspectives and beliefs by adult undergraduates concerning their meaning world of collegiate learning. Grounded in qualitative research, this study gathered rich, diverse case study data of adult undergraduate learners from three institutional settings (an upper-division "adult-oriented" university, an urban-rural university with an evening school, and an urban commuter university). The initial pool of potential interviewees was defined by enrolled undergraduates who were at least 30 years of age and with more than 60 semester hours completed (junior or senior standing). From this pool, each interviewee was selected in a random fashion, with efforts made to balance full-time and part-time enrollment, gender, and a cross-section of at least five different academic disciplines within each institutional interview group. The final pool of completed case studies represented 54 adult undergraduates.

The case study interview was conducted through the use of semi-structured questions. The guiding themes for these questions included: What was the journey of entry or reentry into higher education? What were the key motivators and positive/negative forces for the adult student's participation in undergraduate studies? Does the learner define him or herself as a self-directed learner? How does the adult student define and describe personal interactions within the teaching-learning process? What was the role of self-directed learning in the undergraduate experience? How does the knowledge context of the higher education classroom interact with the knowledge context of the learners' work, family, and community role contexts? In addition to these guiding themes, there was probing for illumination of learner's perspectives regarding the above themes, as well as elaboration on unique learner characteristics, background experiences, or involvements in the undergraduate setting.

Each audio-taped interview lasted 1 to 1 1/2 hours and was transcribed into written narrative data. The analysis delineated key themes and categories of learners' beliefs and actions as they pursued formal and informal learning in the undergraduate student role. The analysis of the transcribed data was conducted in three rounds, with each round representing an institutional site. These rounds, as part of the cross comparative analysis, were represented by inductive categorizations and themes from single cases, to comparisons of categories and themes between case studies, and lastly, cross comparisons between institutions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Kasworm, 1991). Each round represented both validation of themes and patterns, as well as delineation of anomalies to the identified themes and categories.

Because of the number of the total cases in this study, this research reflects an exploratory statement of categories and patterns, with need for further collection and cross comparative analysis. In two of the presented patterns, there are few cases identified. Thus, these two patterns reflect significant anomalies and are suggested as potential patterns of engagement. However, they do not have sufficient cases to validate their representation as a validated pattern of engagement. [Current research is being conducted at other diverse collegiate institutional settings to further test and validate these patterns, as well as to potentially illuminate new themes and subsequent patterns of adult undergraduate engagement in learning.]

Key Findings

This study identifies four differing patterns of adult student engagement. Each of these patterns suggest highly differing dynamics between the adult as a learner, the adult as an undergraduate student, and the adult learner in a broader life context. Each pattern elaborates unique ways in which learners describe and characterize the internal and external acts of learning, and unique ways in which the learners acknowledge the formal classroom experience vis a vis their own preferred learning paths and learning agendas. These patterns also suggest learner differences in the design, control and execution of learning experiences, in concepts of efficacy of learning, and in the relationship of formal classroom learning to personal learning agendas.

As suggested by an earlier report of this study (1991), the engagement and action of these adult students suggest that each adult learner acts as a master planner. The adult student defines the boundaries of his/her learning engagement and the opportunities for interaction across life contexts. Some adult learners make purposeful choices to be passive vessels, others are active creators of their learning. And a few create broad self-directed learning agendas incorporating the classroom focus, as well as other life interests.

For this paper, I will briefly outline the key characteristics of each pattern. The four patterns of adult student engagement are:

- Conflict Engagement,
- Transformative Engagement,
- Accommodative Engagement, and
- Withdrawal Engagement

The **Conflict Engagement Pattern** features individuals (5 of the 54 cases) who view their learning involvement grounded in their own specific learning agenda and in maximizing their own learning experiences and outcomes. Inside the academic enterprise, these individuals speak to manipulation and negotiation with administrators and instructors to pursue their desired learning path. These learners view important learning as highly focused and thus, often beyond the current institutional structures. Although these persons are pursuing undergraduate degrees within institutional boundaries, they act as key architects for their learning. They view themselves as directing and evaluating learning activities in relation to other "collegial experts" of instructors, practitioners, courses and the written knowledge resources. These learners identify a set of ideas, beliefs and/or processes to pursue and personally evaluate throughout the course of the undergraduate experience. In many respects, they would reflect a prototypical, highly autonomous, self-directed learner. They are identified as "conflict engagers" because they speak to continuous contentious situations with the institution and faculty in the pursuit of their specific learning agenda.

In the **Transformative Engagement Pattern** (16 of the 54 cases), these individuals value the collegiate instructional experiences, favor the formal classroom experience, and present an interactive participation in the classroom experiences. They also express varied self-defined and self-directed learning experiences beyond the classroom context. In this pattern, learners act as master planners utilizing the classroom context, but also moving beyond the classroom boundaries in complex self-defined learning episodes. These learners often speak to constructing new knowledge and making active applications of new knowledge and skill across the varied life roles and environments of classroom, work and community. They see value in both the faculty expertise and the faculty evaluation system, as well as their own personal actions of self-directed learning and self-evaluation (within and outside the classroom). These individuals are clearly self-directed learners, but they utilize and value both the undergraduate courses and structures, as well as conduct their own interdependent learning acts. They are defined as "transformative engagers" because they not only actively engage in the classroom environment, but they also act upon this learning by transforming or constructing new knowledge beyond the classroom.

In the third pattern, the **Accommodative Engagement Pattern** (30 of the 54 cases), the adult student designates the learning experience solely within the boundaries of the classroom and the undergraduate learning environment. These individuals are focused upon learning how to be successful in the student learner role and how to gain expertise in the academic content and skill. In addition, as a master planner of their own undergraduate learning experiences, they are focused on either a) developing foundational knowledge (for learners entering new fields of study) or b) developing "conceptual" or "enhanced" knowledge (for learners who work in jobs reflecting the course content). Thus, acts of learning are embedded within learning how to be a "student" and a "knower of specific content, conceptual frameworks, and learning processes". These acts of learning are usually intertwined between their own self-directed learning and their interactions with university coursework and resources. The formal classroom interactions are perceived by these adults as the valuable framework and resource for efficient and effective learning. In particular, they desire the validation by experts and an expertise system (undergraduate academic faculty and courses) for their personal or professional roles.

Within the Accommodative Engagement pattern, students could be further delineated into three subpatterns, reflecting differing screening judgements in relation to accommodation. These three subpatterns include:

> 1) Validated Expertise - those who judge effective learning in relation to their belief of the expertise of the faculty member, of the expertise (perceived academic quality) within the academic major, or of the expertise of the institution which bestows undergraduate degrees; they also judge on the basis of evaluation activities which substantiate gained expertise;
> 2) Measured Expertise - those who judge the acts of learning as screened through their allotment of time and energy resources in relation to their other life commitments; thus gained expertise is relative to their time and energy resource commitments; and
> 3) Exploration beyond expertise - those who judge the student experience from their own personal identity, based upon gaining self-confidence, self-worth, broader insights and understandings of self and others in relation to gained expertise.

The individuals in the Accommodation pattern do bring their judgements and expectations to the learning experience. However, their focus is constrained within the classroom and the subject expertise. They do not make significant connections or applications of their classroom experiences with their work/family/community life. Their self-directed learning is thus framed within the content, the classroom and the student role. They are labeled "accommodative engagers" because they define and adjust their sense of learning within the dictates of the classroom, the faculty member, and the perceived experts.

In the final pattern, the **Withdrawal pattern** (3 of 54 cases), adult learners are anxious and threatened and therefore act as protectors of their self-concept. These learners are focused more narrowly on the acts of learning than the above Accommodation pattern. They view student learning without a clear sense of internal personal meaning or application of the learning. They perceive learning as an act of external compliance. This characterization of external forces is focused upon completion of a life involvement in getting a degree, towards an outcome desired by an employer, family, significant others, or the fulfillment of a future life goal requirement (as an example, necessity for new career after retirement). This perspective requires them to externally comply in the classroom and follow the dictates of the academic structures and faculty. However, they devote major internal emotions and actions dealing with the incongruence between their self expectations for high academic performance, and the contrasting environmental messages, usually evaluation feedback and grades of their inadequate or average academic performance. They act in paradoxical ways to handle their beliefs in themselves versus the varied messages and assessments they receive from the academic environment. They also act in paradoxical ways to handle their beliefs of self-excellence about their abilities and worth which may be in conflict with negative assessments by significant others or may have been in contradiction with societal (usually work-related) messages regarding necessity of a college degree and perceived standards of performance. They are labeled "withdrawal engagers" because they speak to their minimal involvements and often passive withdrawal from classroom learning activities.

Discussion

This study suggests that adult undergraduate students reflect a spectrum of learning engagement within and beyond the classroom boundaries. Each of these patterns represent adult undergraduate students who have specific "meaning anchors" within this individually defined learning engagement. These meaning anchors differ in relation to beliefs of self as learner, of a valuable undergraduate learning engagement, of instructor/student roles, and of self action in learning (self-directed learning) in the life context.

It is evident that the "andragogical classroom" is not perceived as valuable and appropriate by all adult undergraduate learners. Some of these patterns may suggest that the adult learner's sense of meaningful learning and sense of self-confidence are supported by the traditional pedagogical structures and systems. However, other patterns may suggest that this socialization and belief system about the value of the formal classroom experience may also constrain the learning possibilities. These diverse case studies point to the key issue raised by Knowles and others regarding the adult's beliefs about a formal educational experience. The vast majority of these adults could not "image" undergraduate studies, except through the traditional classroom, teacher-student interactions, and the grading examination system. Most of these students did not place credence in accessing more flexible, independent, self-directing opportunities within the academic system. These alternatives were viewed as a more advanced option, such as a final research project, internship, or final independent integrated studies. A few students did perceive these options as "unacceptable alternatives" when considering future application for admission to professional schools. While many others noted concerns about self-directed learning opportunities as a more limited form of learning or an "ignorant journey of self", in relation to the supposed "comprehensive and expert coverage" of a teacher-developed classroom course.

There is clearly a subset of learners who reflect andragogical assumptions of learning in relation to formal classroom contexts and defined curricular programs. They view themselves as capable to define and conduct learning across life contexts. They assume that their learning should incorporate the classroom as well as work and life circumstances in a broader life learning context. They also express a salient belief system about their particular learning goals, processes, and evaluative feedback mechanisms. They speak to interactive, collaborative relationships with instructors, certain students, and other resources which support their learning. Curiously, most did not view themselves as self-directed or "independent" learners. Rather, they often saw themselves as either "curious", interested in specific learning of content or of applications in their lives, or as individuals who defined learning as a seamless tapestry across learning settings and life contexts.

As illustrated through these case studies, adult learners are highly unique and differentiated in their perceptions and actions in the learning process. Clearly, it is not just the learning context and learning environment which support or denigrate adult learning opportunities. A pedagogical classroom environment does not necessarily make a dependent learner. These studies suggest that the "learner's beliefs" and the learner's "meaning structures" of self as learner and the learning process are significantly influential in defining the engagement and the outcomes of the undergraduate learning experience.

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A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARGIN IN LIFE AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

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The purpose of the study was to determine whether a relationship existed between margin in life and the academic achievement of selected community college students and whether the variables of gender, age, credit hours attempted, previous academic experience, and major affected that relationship.

Background

In higher education, the number of older students has been growing more rapidly than the number of younger students (Synder, 1987). Moreover, the enrollment of students under 25 years of age is projected to fall by nearly 600,000, while the enrollment of older students is expected to rise by 217,000 in the period between 1987 and 1997 (Gerald, Horn, & Hasser, 1988). The growth of the community college movement and the number of adult learners in those institutions are even more drastic than the number of adult learners in higher education as a whole (El-Khawas, Carter, & Ottinger, 1988).

In the last decades of the twentieth century, adults are pursuing a blended life plan in which work, education, and leisure are intertwined (Cross, 1981).

Concomitantly with the increasing numbers of adults in postsecondary education, have come research efforts in the field of adult education to investigate whether adults as learners differ from children and traditional age college students as learners. However, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) argued that those research efforts have generally lacked a more systematic and disciplined empirical approach to adult learning theory.

One theory which attempts to address the question of adults as learners from the perspective of factors influencing the actual learning ability and performance of adults as learners is the early investigator Howard Y. McClusky's power, load, and margin concept (1984). McClusky wrote that "Margin is a function of the relationship of Load to Power. In simplest terms, Margin is surplus power. It is the Power available to a person over and beyond that required to handle his load" (McClusky, 1984, p. 159).

Moreover, McClusky argued that not only would margin be necessary in order to possess the discretionary power to engage in learning activities but that the amount of power a person possessed would impact the level and range of one's performance (1970). This same point was reiterated by Long (1983).

The paucity of empirical research in the field of adult learning theory lamented by Darkenwald and Merriam in 1982 was again emphasized when Merriam and Caffarella wrote in 1991, "Indeed, none of the theories [of adult learning] is supported by a substantial body of research" (p. 264). This same lack of research has largely extended to McClusky's theory of margin as well.

Stevenson (1982) introduced an instrument, the *Margin in Life Scale* which was designed to measure power, load and margin. Margin was defined as 1.00 minus the ratio of load over load plus power. Only one preliminary study on the relationship between the amount of margin measured by the *Margin in Life Scale* a student possessed and academic performance as measured by grade point average has been reported (Weiman, 1984).

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to determine whether a relationship existed between the margin in life as measured by the *Margin in Life Scale* and the academic achievement as measured by grade point average of selected community college students and whether the variables of gender, age, credit hours attempted, previous academic experience, and major affected that relationship.

Methodology

Profile of the Sample. The sample of 324 subjects was drawn from the 1,139 students enrolled in credit courses in the Fall, 1988 semester on the Sheridan campus of Northern Wyoming Community College, a comprehensive community college with open enrollment in Sheridan, a small town of 15,000 in northern Wyoming. The mean number of credit hours attempted by the sample was 12.037 with the population's mean being 10.1. The mean age of the sample was 26.483 with the population's being 30.1. The sample contained 110 males (33.3%) and 213 females (64.5%) with the population having 39.7% males and 60.3% females. The mean of past academic experience was in the range of 16-30 credit hours.

Data Collection Procedures. Instructors who had agreed to participate in the study presented to students enrolled in credit classes the *Margin in Life Scale* (Stevenson, 1982) booklet which contained 94 questions to determine power, load, and margin and a demographic questionnaire to obtain the variables of age, credit hours attempted, previous academic experience, income level, gender, and major as well as a release form to obtain the student's grade point average for the Fall, 1988 semester. The instructor read the directions and the letter to the students aloud in class. Participation by students as well as instructors was voluntary. The instructor determined whether the Scale would be completed in class or completed outside of class and returned to the instructor at the next class. Completion of the booklet took from 20 to 35 minutes. The booklets were distributed and returned the first week of the Fall, 1988 semester. The response rate was 28.75%. Fall, 1988 semester grade point averages were obtained early in the Spring, 1989 semester.

Data Analysis. The scoring of the *Margin in Life Scale* was done by means of a program written for a personal computer. The scores were placed on coded data sheets with the grade point average and other research variables. The data were entered into the University of Wyoming DEC VAX mainframe computer for analysis. Pearson Product Moment correlations, partial correlations, descriptive statistics and Fisher Z transformations of the original correlations in the test of null hypotheses of equal correlations over several independent groups described by Glass and Hopkins (1984) were calculated. Significance was determined by a confidence level of $p = .05$.

Findings. The mean score on the total *Margin in Life Scale* was .5659. The mean scores for the subscales were as follows: Subscale 1--Body/Health, 1.000; Subscale 2--Self, .0917; Subscale 3--Family, .0934; Subscale 4--Religiosity/Spirituality, .0978; Subscale 5--Extra-Familial Relationships, .0954; Subscale 6--Environment, .0877. The mean of the grade point average of the sample was 2.803, nearly identical to the population's mean of 2.82.

No relationship between the margin in life and academic achievement of the community college students was found. The factors of gender, age, credit hours attempted, previous academic experience, and major had no influence on that relationship.

Conclusions and Discussion

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the findings of the research study. McClusky (1970) contended and Long reiterated (1983) that the amount of power a person has will have a strong bearing on the level and range of one's performance. The results of this research study do not substantiate McClusky's contention. This result also conflicts with the preliminary results reported by Weiman (1984). Additionally, gender, age, credit hours attempted, previous academic experience, and major had no influence on that relationship. Perhaps, the lack of relationship indicates that adults are transvaluing their load and power in order to maintain margin. Hence, adults may be adapting to the blended life plan of pursuing work, education, and leisure concurrently as described by Cross (1981).

It is important to acknowledge that the generalizability of the study is limited, given the lack of randomly selecting the participants and the voluntary nature of the instructors and subjects participating in the study. Those persons without margin may have chosen not to participate in the study. On the other hand, a number of instructors did have their students complete the instrument in class, and no instructor reported a refusal by a student to complete the instrument. That the sample was similar to the population but not identical, especially in age and credit hours attempted, limits generalizability. The rural setting of the community college also limits generalizability.

A number of additional reasons may account for the fact that no relationship was found. First, margin by its nature is dynamic; indeed, McClusky developed his construct to address the dynamics inherent in adult psychology in view of lifespan psychology. Hence, margin could have changed throughout the semester from that reported at the beginning of the semester, thereby impacting the relationship of margin at the beginning of the semester and academic achievement at the end of the semester.

Second, extraneous variables may impact the relationship between margin and grade point average. Academic ability as reflected in SAT Verbal and SAT Quantitative test scores has been shown to have a positive relationship with academic achievement. In contrast to the results of Bentley et al.'s (1980) finding that gender did have a relationship with GPA, the present study did not find that gender impacted the relationship between margin in life and academic achievement.

A third possible explanation for the results lies in the instrument utilized to measure margin, the *Margin in Life Scale* (Stevenson, 1982). Since the instrument is a self-report scale, it may have an inherent weakness with accuracy.

A far more serious concern is whether the instrument actually measures margin. Several comments can be made. First, it is difficult to imagine what was not covered by Stevenson's very broad definitions of load and power. Her change of McClusky's formula to 1-load over load plus power is conceptually accurate and conforms to McClusky's contention that persons are near the breakdown point when no margin exists. Hence, power really consists of both power recognized and power being utilized by the load a person is currently carrying. Second, extensive parametric tests were performed to assure reliability and validity. Yet construct validity may still be debatable. Third, statistically, for whatever reason, the range of scores on the instrument may be too narrow. Regression toward the mean may be occurring.

One extremely important finding of the study lies in the fact that the study was designed to measure margin within the first week of classes, hopefully before the load of academic responsibilities had been experienced by the students, thereby impacting the students' margin. All 324 students had adequate margin as measured by the *Margin in Life Scale*. The mean of the scores on the Scale was .5659. This finding is stronger than the results reported by Gessner (1980) in her study of participation in continuing professional education for nurses. The results of the present study strongly suggest that margin as measured by the *Margin in Life Scale* is present when students enroll in credit classes at the community college level. This finding conflicts with the results of Cookson's research (1985) which found margin did not correlate with adult education participation. Further research utilizing Stevenson's tool to determine if adults have margin at the beginning of a variety of educational experiences would be helpful.

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ENGELS, MARX, AND RADICAL ADULT EDUCATION: A REREADING OF A TRADITION

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In the 1840s, Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx developed an inherently educative theory of radical social change to which they largely adhered throughout their lives.

Introduction and Purpose

In the early 1970s, ideas and approaches derived from Marxism gained ground in adult education, first in the field of practice and later in the academic arena. This process formed part of a much broader movement in the human and social sciences generally (Bernstein, 1976) and in education more specifically (Whitty, 1985). This movement had been stimulated significantly by the demise of the post-war Welfare State compromise and the rise of the 'New Left' (Aronowitz, 1981). Within adult education, much of the early attention was focussed on developing a neo-Marxist critique of mainstream liberal provision (Sissons & Law, 1982). By the mid-1980s, this debate had been extended considerably. First, academic adult education was taking much more interest in the work of Paulo Freire, Antonio Gramsci, Raymond Williams and other educators inspired by Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx; second, it was beginning to engage directly contemporary neo-Marxist thought and to explore its application to the field.

In the course of this work, only limited attention has been given to Engels and Marx's ideas about radical adult education. However, in an important study of Gramsci's views, Walter Adamson (1980) concluded that Marx's (and Engel's?) ideas about political education were not thought through and that they did not always square with other writings. He holds that there was a tension in Marx's work between a radical adult education grounded in working class life--the 'school of labour'--and the need for a working class pedagogy involving outside intellectuals. He also suggests that Marx worked with two concepts of the "outside educator." The first is a "therapeutic image:" the educator "facilitates but does not impose a new and more correct praxis." In the second one, such educators play "an active, educative role in bringing the proletariat to critical consciousness" (1980, p. 111).

Prompted by Adamson's interpretation, the purposes of this research were: (1) to establish the place of the education of adults in Engels and Marx's theory of social change; (2) to explore how they integrated those ideas into their own political practice; and (3) to examine how their views and practice were adapted to met changing circumstances.

Theoretical Perspective and Research Approach

This research was informed by that strain of neo-Marxism that views radical social change as an active process that owes as much to agency as it does to conditioning (Thompson, 1963). The study drew on historical work and material in order to establish the broad context of Engels and Marx's writings and practice. Against that backdrop, it then involved a textual analysis of their writings, with a stronger focus than is often the case on their political works and letters.

Findings

Early Influences. Educational activity had long occupied a central place in radical politics. As early as the 1380s, John Ball preached a radical theology that emphasized inherent rights, equality in the sight of God, and the need to take political action in order to secure social justice. These ideas were carried by a series of social movements over the succeeding centuries. Along the way, more secular ideologies formed. The French Revolution of 1789 gave further impetus to an inherently educative radical politics which emphasized active human beings. By 1840 Engels and Marx were both well acquainted with radicalism intellectual roots; but it was not until Engels went to England in 1842 and Marx to Paris in 1843 that they gained more direct insights into practical working class politics. This exposure had a profound impact on the formation of their understanding of the place of education in radical politics.

Formative Phase. Even before Engels left Berlin for England in 1842, he had begun to distinguish between the philosophical communism of the educated and the more spontaneous, working-class communism advocated by the tailor, Weitling. But as late as 1843, he still held that the reconciliation of theory and practice would result from the intellectuals doing the thinking and the proletariat the fighting. Although impressed with Robert Owen's English socialism, Engels thought it out of date. He admired Chartism and quickly established links with working class activists in Manchester and London. This association helped him break with Feuerbach's image of a passive human being. It also provided the basis for several articles in the German radical press in which he outlined an historical theory of revolution that emphasized the central role of the working class.

In a letter to Arnold Ruge, Marx (1843; M&ECW, 3, 1975) talks about the need to reform consciousness and to link critique with political action but holds that the "reform of consciousness consists *only* in making the world aware of its own consciousness, in awakening it out of its dream about itself, in *explaining* to it the meaning of its actions" (p. 144): Adamson's "therapeutic" image. Around the same time, in his Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, Marx (M&ECW, 3, 1975) identifies the structure of society as the source of alienation rather than the state of humankind's consciousness. But at this stage, he still viewed the proletariat as the 'passive element', the 'material base' of a revolution (Callinicos, 1983, pp. 34- 35).

This began to change after his move to Paris in October 1843. Especially influential were Engels' articles, in particular his Outlines of a critique of political economy (1843; M&ECW, 3, 1975) which Marx read in November 1843. Thus in the Economic and philosophic manuscripts of 1844 (M&ECW, 3, 1975) we can see the idea that history itself does nothing and that real human beings are its active agents beginning to take shape.

Engels returned from England with what was essentially an educative objective. Not only was he convinced that English radicalism suffered because of its lack of theory he also believed that Continental socialism needed to be provided with a knowledge of "proletarian conditions" "in their *classical form*." This latter task was the purpose of his classic study, The condition of the working-class in England (1845; M&ECW, 4, 1975). Although Engels does not make many specific comments about adult education, there are a number of observations in that work which point to a keen understanding of its place in radical politics: (1) his recognition of the central importance of the radical press and the network of reading rooms, discussion groups, and lecture series that formed the basis of working class education in England; (2) the high opinion he holds of the intellectual capacity of the working class; (3) his awareness of the appropriation of the Mechanics Institutes by bourgeois interests and how this could draw people away from the popular movement.

Collaboration and Revolutionary Politics. Engels and Marx's ideas about radical education developed rapidly from the time they began to collaborate in 1844 through to the completion of The Manifesto of the Communist Party (M&ECW, 6, 1976) in early 1848. Their first joint work was The holy family (M&ECW, 4, 1975), most of which was written by Marx. There he advances the idea that the the proletariat, "can and must emancipate itself" and that "Not in vain does it go through the stern but steeling school of *labour*. " (p. 37). A little later he writes: "Ideas *cannot carry out anything* at all. In order to carry out ideas men are needed who can exert practical force" (p. 119). It is also in this work that Marx draws on the French materialist philosopher, Claude Helvétius, to note that education is a process as well as a direct intervention: "it is education, by which he means not only education in the ordinary sense but the totality of an individual's conditions of life, which forms man" and that for "the contradiction between particular interests and those of society" to be abolished "a transformation of consciousness is necessary" (p. 133). In my view, this particular note holds the key to both Engels and Marx's concept of education.

In The theses on Feuerbach (1845, M&ECW, 5, 1976) Marx grounds cognition in material practice; echoing themes touched on above, he states that the purpose of philosophy is to change the world. This is a major break with the earlier "therapeutic" image of philosophy as education. The next important text is The German ideology (M&ECW, 5, 1976) which Engels and Marx wrote in 1846. There we are told that "the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of (humans)" (p. 36), that "it is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness" (p. 37), and that "'liberation' is a historical and not a mental act, and it is brought about by historical conditions ..." (p. 38) The materialist theory of history presented in this work centres on the concept of class struggle, the notion of contradictions and conflict within civil society. In this text we see evidence that Engels and Marx's involvement in radical politics helped them understand how it was the nature and circumstances of those contradictions, the real lived experience of working people, that led them to engage in that struggle: "socialism, in other words, is the *self*-emancipation of the working class" (Callinicos, 1983, p. 46).

Support for this interpretation and for my general view that Engels and Marx engaged in an educative politics is provided much later by Engels in the History of the Communist League (1885; M&ECW, 26, 1990) in which he sketches the growth of a political and educational movement leading up to the revolutions of 1848. What was important, he observes, was the discovery that as part of a movement, 'communism' was not a concoction of an ideal society, "but insight into the nature, the conditions, and the consequent general aims of the struggle waged by the proletariat." Thus Engels and Marx saw as their duty "to provide a scientific substantiation for our view" and "to win over the ... proletariat to our conviction." (pp. 318-319). In the Spring of 1847, they began to play a leading role in the 'League of the Just' and it was in that capacity that they prepared The Manifesto. The initial intention was to publish a popular catechism for workers. Under this constraint, Engels produced a Draft of a communist confession of faith (M&ECW, 6, 1976) in June 1847. The educational thrust of their politics was already evident; Question 6 reads: "*How do you wish to prepare the way for your community of property?*. Answer: By enlightening and uniting the proletariat" (p. 96). This explicit reference to enlightenment is not present in Engels' October draft, Principles of communism (M&ECW, 6, 1976), but the sentiment is there. At a League conference in London at the end of November, it was decided to issue something more advanced. Engels and Marx were commissioned to write The Manifesto which was published in February 1848. In a matter of days almost, Marx's thundering revolutionary flourish had transformed Engels' catechism, although, as Terrell Carver (1982) documents very convincingly, the final version of The Manifesto remained indebted significantly to Engels' earlier drafts.

In the Manifesto, Engels and Marx define the League in relation to a wide range of revolutionary parties and sects. The immediate revolutionary climate is located historically with the emphasis on the centrality of "class struggles" and the proletariat is confirmed as the historical agent. 'Communists' and their role are defined in relation "to the proletarians as a whole." Their task is *educative*: They "do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties" but are distinguished from them only by how, in the context of national struggles, they "point out and bring to the front the common interests" of the international proletariat (p. 497). Thus communists are identified as "(the most advanced)and resolute section of the working-class parties... theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement" (p. 497). These "theoretical conclusions ... are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes" (p. 498).

By 1848 Engels and Marx had blended earlier radical theory and practical experience into a very fully developed, inherently educative theory of radical social change. It was based on an understanding of humankind as an active, self-creating, sensuous species; it held that the contradictions inherent in capitalism gave rise to class struggle: the motor of history; it identified the proletariat as the agent of social transformation that would emancipate humankind; and it also held that this task required theory: an understanding of the direction of struggle and its ultimate goals. This theory was provided through class education by the communists. Organizationally, this education was to be undertaken by the 'party'; not a distinct communist party in a modern sense, but rather the theoretically more advanced and more resolute section of the revolutionary working class movement. I believe that what we see in The Manifesto is Engels and Marx interweaving the two concepts of education discussed in The German ideology: the Helvétian one of education as the total formative process and the "ordinary sense" of education as intervention or enlightenment. Theory and practice are united in struggle. As the working class is pushed up against theory or develops the need for theory, the communists intervene educationally in order to explain the character of the struggle and to outline its direction.

Education and Politics: 1848-1895. Engels and Marx were active in the revolutions of 1848, although their role should not be exaggerated. Before and after these events, their main educational work as political activists was popular journalism, but they also became involved in more formal adult education. As early as November 1847 Engels was lecturing in London while in December of that year Marx gave lectures on political economy to the German Workers' Association in Brussels. In February 1849 he and Engels proposed that the Workers' Association in Cologne hold "regular, free educational programs on 'social subjects'" (Draper, 1985, p. 41). Shortly afterwards Marx began to deliver such lectures fortnightly. In April, he prepared his Brussels' lectures for publication (Wage-labour and capital, M&ECW, 9, 1977); these articles then became the basis for further educational meetings. With the defeat of the 1848 revolutions, however, Marx was forced to keep moving. In October 1849 he arrived in London and from November of that year through to September 1850 he gave a series of lectures to the German Workers' Educational Association. He also conducted more intensive sessions for activists in his home (Draper, 1985, p. 47). In Manchester, Engels too helped form an educational club. However this activity declined from 1851 as they realized, much earlier than most of their associates, that the revolutionary energy unleashed in Paris in February 1848 had expired. Their involvement in practical politics did not pick up again until 1863 and took a further upward turn in late 1864 with the formation of the 'First International' within which Marx was especially active until its demise in the early 1870s. A few years later they became associated again with the German movement, although their influence remained limited up until Marx's death in 1883.

Over this period, Engels and Marx held fairly consistently to the revolutionary theory they developed prior to 1848, although they drew lessons from the failure of those events and, later, that of the Paris Commune (1871). In The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (1852; M&ECW, 11, 1979) Marx gave the idea of human agency a new twist. "(People) make their own history", he argues, but not in an unfettered way. They acquire knowledge, develop ideas, make decisions and take action "under circumstances" which are not "chosen by themselves" but which are "directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (p. 103). However in this and other works, they generally reaffirm their basic theory. For example, in a letter to Friedrich Bolte Marx (1871; M&ECW, 44, 1989) talks quite explicitly about the way in which a general political movement of the working class grows up out of particular economic movements. Moreover, there is an important sense in which all of their theoretical work, especially Marx's Capital ([1867] 1977) and Engels' Anti-Dühring (1878: M&ECW, 25, 1987), were consistent with the role of the communists as outlined in The Manifesto.

From the mid-1800s, Engels and Marx had to come to terms with the slow but steady extension of the franchise, the question of participation in electoral politics, and the growth of 'reformism' which in Germany was represented by the politics of Ferdinand Lassalle. Engels and Marx did not favour 'abstentionism;' but nor did they favour reformism. Instead they advocated participation in politics at all levels as a way of advancing a socialist programme and building a revolutionary political movement. However, their influence within the German movement was weak. This was evident in 1875 when the two main groupings merged. The resulting programme--'The Gotha Programme'--was severely criticized by Engels and Marx (M&ECW, 24, 1989), but their criticisms were not made public until 1891. Their critique reaffirmed the theory of revolution outlined in The Manifesto. Four years later, in their Circular letter to Bebel and others (1879; M&ECW, 24, 1989), written by Engels, they addressed specifically the question of 'outside educators,' in particular, those drawn from other classes. In a sharp critique of the contribution of the three "Zurich censors", Höchberg, Bernstein, and Schramm, they rejected any suggestion that "the working class is incapable of emancipating itself by its own efforts" (p. 264). Engels and Marx did not argue that such people had no place in the workers movement--they were hardly in a position to suggest that--but they did hold that such people had to "introduce genuinely educative elements" (p. 268). By that they meant that the starting point was scientific working class theory; that is, their own. Instead, claimed Engels and Marx, these three had merely adapted socialist ideas to viewpoints they had acquired in the university or elsewhere. If such people were to contribute to the workers' movement, then the "the first requirement is that they should not bring with them the last remnant of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc. prejudices, but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook" (p. 268). Anticipating future problems, Engels and Marx argued for an alliance with outsiders rather than have them as an "adulterating element" within the workers' party. They then reaffirmed their 40 year commitment to the idea that "The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself...we cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves" (p. 269).

The Circular is classic Engels; but it was endorsed unreservedly by Marx (1879; M&ECW, 45, 1991) in a letter to Friedrich Sorge:

> These laddies, nonentities in theory and nincompoops in practice, are seeking to draw the teeth of socialism (which they have rehashed in accordance with academic formulae) and of the Social-Democratic Party in particular, to enlighten the workers or, as they put it, to provide them, out of their confused and superficial knowledge, with 'educative elements' and, above all, to make the party 'acceptable' in the eyes of the philistines (p. 413).

Engels and Marx's whole theory of transformative adult education was premised on the assumption that Marx had basically unlocked the riddle of history. Again it is Engels who expresses this most forcefully in the conclusion of Socialism: Utopian and scientific which was, after the Manifesto, "the most influential and popular presentation of the Marxist position in the late nineteenth century" (Tucker, 1978, p. 683). There Engels states:

> To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the new oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific socialism (1880; M&ECW, 24, 1989, p.325).

After Marx's death, Engels continued to hold this position. If anything, the growing radical movement in England in the mid-1890s convinced even more of the basic soundness of the educative dimension of his and Marx's revolutionary theory.

Changing Circumstances. Space permits only the briefest discussion here of the ways in which Engels and Marx adapted to meet changing circumstances. The fact is that notwithstanding the forcefulness with which they adhered to their theory of social change, in terms of radical practice they were on the defensive against reformism from the early 1850s. In their home country, Germany, where their major theoretical works, such as Marx's Capital, were well received by socialists, even their allies, such as August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, were not always prepared to accept Marx and Engels' advice on strategic and tactical questions. The rejection of their critique of the Gotha Programme is a good example. So too is the Circular Letter of which little notice seems to have been taken. By Marx's death, the German Social Democratiç Party was well on the way to establishing itself as an electoral machine rather than remaining an unadulterated workers' party. And it was the emergence of "the party as an *organization* in which Socialist theory fuses with the labour movement" (Johnstone, 1967, p. 131)--something quite different from the concept in The Manifesto--that marked the transition from predominantly localized radical education endeavours towards a more universalized, directive provision.

What then does one make of Engels adherence to Manifesto politics? My own view, after reading most of his letters and other political writings from 1883 to his death in 1895, is that throughout his life he retained much the same 'social movement' perspective that he expressed 40 years earlier in The condition. That is, he regarded all agitation, educational work, and other political activity as constituting a generally progressive climate out of which a politically sharper working class party would emerge when historical circumstances--the 'school of labour'--pushed workers up against theory. At the same time, a shadow of doubt flickers across some of his late writings, for as an authority on military matters he was uneasy about the modern state's ability to concentrate repressive power in its police force and army.

Concluding Discussion

This study concluded that in so far as Engels and Marx adhere to Manifesto politics from 1848 through to their respective deaths, they were much more consistent in their views about radical education than Adamson suggests. It also found that as Marx had abandoned the "therapeutic" image of the outside educator by the mid-1840s, Adamson stretches a point too far when he contrasts Marx's observations in his 1843 letter to Ruge with Engels' (endorsed by Marx) comments in the Circular letter of 1879. Indeed, Adamson, like many commentators, does not seem to be aware that it was Engels that penned that letter. Adamson is on stronger ground with respect to the tension between worker self-education and a more 'directive' working class pedagogy. The evidence comes, however, not so much from the Circular letter, which I think Adamson misreads, but more from Engels and Marx's practice as adult educators at certain points in their lives.

In my view the key to understanding Engels and Marx's views on radical education is to be found in the way in which they interweave into Manifesto politics the two concepts of education discussed in the The German ideology.

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CHALLENGING SOME MYTHS ABOUT SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING RESEARCH

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Problem

Self-directed learning (SDL) has become one of the more productive research topics in adult education. It is unfortunate that the description of this very large body of literature has acquired some mythical proportions. It has become customary to rely upon descriptions provided by Brookfield (1984, 1988) describing the research as suffering from methodolotory. He offered four criticisms of SDL research that have been repeated by various authors in recent years. According to Brookfield the research (1) focused on middle-class whites, and ignored adults from other class and ethnic backgrounds (1984, p.61-63); (2) was dominated almost exclusively by positivist/quantitative research and based the use of measurement scales, structured interview schedules, questionnaires and prompt sheets,(p.63-67) which emphasize "...the extent of learning and the concomitant lack of attention to its quality (p.60); (3) ignored the social context by focusing on the individual isolated learner (p.67-68); and (4) reflected lack of attention to the social and political implications raised (68-69). Since Brookfield offered his description numerous authors have cited his work, often without qualification. In preparing this paper, I conducted a casual and superficial review of the literature for 1989-1990. I identified 12 authors, who cited Brookfield's criticisms of 1984 or 1988. Of the 12, none questioned his descriptions. Two, Candy (1990) and Nolan (1990) supported the description. Cafferella and O'Donnell equivocated. Brockett (1985) is the only identified author who challenged Brookfield's position. Thus, Brookfield's description of the SDL research often is assumed routinely to be accurate. The assertions are problematic, however. Brookfield's sample in his 1984 article consisted of 53 sources. Of the works cited, 31 appear to be research reports. Hence, the description of the large corpus of SDL research is based on a very small sample of studies. The actual number of different projects in the sample appears to be even fewer as four of the research citations are to Tough and four are to his own dissertation and subsequent articles based on it. Thus, the description seems to be based on 25 different studies, the preponderance of which are concerned with adults' learning projects. Dealing with some of the same points in another place Brookfield (1985) indicates that his review includes 25 publications concerned with self-directed learning and related topics. It is possible Brookfield's critical description of self-directed learning research was based on an unusually small sample of the literature. Given the continuing impact of the description it is appropriate to determine its accuracy when a larger body of literature is examined.

Purpose

This research was designed to examine a large corpus of the literature to determine the accuracy of the following four assertions:

(1) the research samples are not representative of the larger population (it focuses on middle class adults)
(2) SDL research emphasizes the quantity of learning, is dominated almost exclusively by quantitative research charcterized by measurement scales, structured interviews, questionnaires and prompt sheets and increasingly based on one instrument (an implied criticism of the use of the Guglielmino Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale (SDLRS)
(3) absence of concern with the social context of SDL and
(4) lack of attention to social and political implications.

Research Procedures

The analysis was based on reviews of more than 500 published items abstracted in Confessore and Long (1992), Long and Confessore (1992) and Long and Redding (1991). Each of the abstracts considered in this review provides information on research methods, sample and/or instrumentation. Confessore and Long (1992) contains 242 abstracts of general literature on SDL published between 1983 and 1991. Long and Confessore (1992) provides abstracts of 131 similar items released between 1966 and 1982. Finally, Long and Redding (1991) contains 173 abstracts of SDL dissertations reported by Dissertation Abstracts International between 1966 and January of 1991. A minimum overlap exists between Long and Redding (1991) and the other two volumes as a few of the dissertations were later published in the general literature and as a result are reported twice. Also, even though a few published items appear to have been duplicated in two different journals with minor changes they are counted as separate items.

Findings

The literature included in each of the above sources is limited to works that emphasized SDL and items that were located in search procedures that included self-directed learning as a key term. See Confessore and Long(1992) and Long and Confessore (1992) for a more complete discussion of the search procedures. It is possible that the search did not identify some works that some would describe as SDL. Space limitations preclude futher comment on this here. The findings generated by the analysis are reported as follows. First, information concerning the samples employed by the investigators in the three sources is noted. Second, findings concerning the nature of the research method as reported in each source are presented. Then information concerning instruments used in SDL research as reported in each of the sources (Confessore & Long, 1992; Long & Confessore, 1992; Long and Redding) is reported. Third, the composite findings are discussed.

Samples. Forty of the 52 research items included in Long and Confessore covering the 1966-1982 period reported identifiable human samples. The samples included ABE students, children, college students, farmers, a general adult sample, graduate and medical students, nurses and nursing students, older rural adults, professional staff, specialized groups, teachers, women and workers. Seventy-nine abstracts reported in Confessore and Long covering the 1983-1991 period reported identifiable human samples. Of the groups reported in Long and Confessore only farmers were not included in the 1983-1991 period. In addition new samples included business school students, disadvantaged, disabled adults and children, hard-to-reach adults, a mixed occupational group of workers, teachers and high-school students, Native Americans, physicians, and a prison sample. Long and Redding, which contains abstracts of theses and dissertation, contains the largest number of studies with identifiable human samples; 144. These abstracts report the previously identified sample in addition to the following new ones: ESL-Spanish speakers, extension agents, military, social workers, and post-secondary teachers.

Method. Efforts to accurately define research methodology in terms that are acceptable to everyone are likely to be unsuccessful. Given that reality, the authors of the sources developed some guidelines for classifying the literature as follows: first, two mutually exclusive categories were devised as discursive and research. If an item did not contain a description of a research problem, research questions or hypotheses, description of a sample and identification of some data collection instrument or procedure, it was classified as discursive (non-research). Then two general research approaches were labeled as qualitatative and quantitative. Research was classified as quantitative if it included hypotheses, statistical treatment of data, and instruments. An item was described as qualitative if it did not meet the above criteria. As a result the qualitative category includes biographical analyses, case studies, historical, interpretative literature reviews, theoretical and philosophical explications as well as ethnographic, phenomenological and other naturalistic research. The distribution of items in each source follows:

Table 1: Distribution of items by source

Source	Total	Discursive	Qual.	Quant.	Other
Long & Conf.	141	86	28	27	
Conf.& Long	242	107	86	49	
Long & Redd	173	0	62	108	3*
Total	556	193	176	184	3

* Two studies were based on a combination of qualitative and quantitative procedures.

Instruments. The three volumes used as sources identify 154 different instruments in the SDL research reports. The SDLRS (the object of Brookfield's criticism) was utilized in 109 of the studies. Many researchers used more than one instrument when the object was to determine the association between or among several phenomena.

A secondary criticism offered by Brookfield was that the surveys, questionnaires, scales, etc. was that though the use of these instruments investigators focused on the quantity of the learning and ignored quality. Numerous studies were concerned with variables other than quantity. These variables included a) barriers to SDL, b) concepts, c) association of SDL with at least 44 different variables such as achievement, age, gender, life satisfaction, psychological well-being, socio-cultural variables, and worker environment, for example), d) effectiveness, e) competencies for SDL, and f) procedures to encourage, stimulate and support SDL.

Social Context. A general review of the items reported in the three volumes of abstracts reveal that approximately 90% of the work included was concerned with SDL in a social context rather than with the solitary learner as proposed by Brookfield. Of the first 100 items included in Long and Confessore (1992) possibly six of the items could have been concerned with solitary learners.

Social and Political Implications . Only a few of the items appear to be devoted to general or large scale social and political implications. There are a number of the published works on SDL that address institutional policy, curriculum policy and procedures, however.

Discussion

Brookfield's first assertion, under review here, concerns research samples. He indicated that SDL research has focused on middle-class individuals to the exclusion of the disadvantaged, minorities and workers. Some 263 of the 357 research items are based on identifiable human samples the remaining work includes studies of organizations, historical investigations, reviews of literature and so forth. The research is classified according to 30 different major samples ranging from adult basic education students to workers. Several of the major categories contain multiple sub-categories. For example, the category of children, 34 studies, includes 11 specific identifiers of which the gifted and talented is the largest. Marginal childhood samples comprises the next largest kind of childhood sample, eight studies are included.

Samples from three groups are conspicuous among the research. Fifty-three percent of the investigations are based on five kinds of samples: undergraduate college student (37),children (34) teachers (34), nurses and nursing students (33) and graduate college students (25). Additional analysis of the sources reveals that at least 47 (15%) of the studies include samples from marginal populations: ABE students, Afro-Americans, disabled, disadvantaged, farmers, samples from low-socioeconomic populations, migrant farm workers, minority students, Native Americans, older adults, prisoners, Spanish speakers, and others.

The abstracts indicate the samples used in SDL research is not one-dimensional as described by Brookfield. Studies include a diverse range of occupations including corporate managers, food service workers, governmental employees from clerical workers to managers, HRD professionals, union leaders, manufacturing workers, migrant farmers, the military and others. Perhaps one of the more interesting categories from which samples have been obtained is labeled "specialized groups." Thirteen of these special groups have been studied. They include care givers, choral members, dancers, marriage enrichment groups, prospective parents, sports (running and tennis) and weight control.

Brookfield said that SDL was also the object of mono-method research: quantitative analysis based on measurement scales, structured interview schedules, questionnaires and prompt sheets. Actually, much of the literature on self-directed learning as reported in Confessore and Long (1992) and Long and Confessore (1992) is discursive with about one-half comprised of research reports. The distribution of research between qualitative approaches and quantitative approaches is about equal. Recently, qualitative research has increased dramatically in dissertations. Given the dominant research paradigm in use during the 1970s it may be suggested that the self-directed learning has been subjected to much more qualitative research than might be expected.

It was also implied that the SDLRS was a contributing factor to the alleged over-emphasis upon quantitative methods and an overconcern with quantity of learning rather than quality. Two important points should be made here.

First, the findings indicate that a number of instruments other than the SDLRS have been used in the study of SDL. It is obvious that the SDLRS has been the instrument of choice for obtaining some measure of self-directed learning readiness, or an attitude favorable to self-direction in learning. The first identifiable instrument designed to obtain some assessment of SDL propensity was reported by Smith (1968), at least eight other instruments used for this purpose can be found in the literature before 1982. Others such as the Oddi Continuing Learning Inventory (1984) were devised later. Given the fact that a number of other instruments have been used for similar purposes, the popularity of the SDLRS should be a topic of scholarly study.

Second, most of these instruments yield information other than quantity of SDL. This writer is puzzled by Brookfield's claim that "one consequence of the adoption of such instruments (as the SDLRS) is the emphasis placed upon the quantity of learning, largely to the exclusion of any assessment of its quality or effectiveness" (p.63). The SDLRS is not designed to obtain information on the quantity of learning activity.

Finally, Brookfield was concerned about the general neglect of the social and political implications of SDL research. The abstracts reviewed suggest that Brookfield was correct in asserting that researchers had tended to ignore this area of interest. Given the general corpus of adult education research, this findings should not be surprising. Few adult and continuing educator researchers have focused on the broader political and social dimensions of adult education inquiries.

It appears that Brookfield's description of SDL research is not accurate. The inaccuracy of the description seems to be caused by (a) his definition of SDL research, (b) his subsequent selection of literature as the basis of his comments; and (c) a possible bias. First, he defined SDL research primarily by learning projects research which by research design contributed to his criticism about samples and use of structured interview schedules and prompt sheets. The erroneous results of his definition were compounded by the use of an extremely small sample of SDL research, primarily learning projects research. Finally, there is some possibility that bias influenced his conclusions. For example, in support of his position concerning research methodology, he states " ...a new wave of dissertations have been completed using the Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale" (p.63). He proceeds to cite three. Yet when he discussed the need for greater attention to "...adults from other class and ethnic backgrounds" (p.62), he uses the word "few" while identifying four sources. In one place three constitutes a "new wave" while in another four is few.

Ironically Brookfield's highly visible description of SDL research suffers from a consequence that he associated with the quantitative research that he criticized. He described the research as "... self-defining regarding the learning activities they uncover" (p.63). In other words, it appears that Brookfield intentionally or unintentionally set up a definition of SDL research that affirmed his position in many instances and then through the use of imprecise description presented a convincing argument.

Conclusions

This paper reports the results of an analysis of the samples, research method, instruments, social context and social and political implications as treated in SDL between 1966 and 1991. Specifically, the literature was examined to determine the validity of Brookfield's (1984, 1988) assertions that self-directed learning research is a one sample area of inquiry, based upon one research method and one-instrument concerned with the quantity of learning while ignoring quality, which ignores the social context, and social and political implications of the research findings.

The following conclusions are based on more than 500 publications concerning SDL. See Confessore and Long (1992) and Long and Confessore (1992) for a description of the bibliographic search procedure. Of the work reviewed, 357 are described as research.

1. Brookfield may have been partially correct in his contention that SDL research focused on the middle-class. The description appears to have been over-stated, however. It appears that about 15% of the studies were concerned specifically with the disadvantaged, minorities, and workers. It is possible, however, that the remaining 85% include a more diverse sample than is apparent from the descriptions available. For example, studies of the general population (Bitterman,1988), if they were representative samples, should have included other than middle-class people. On the other hand, some of the specialized studies (Lendvoy, 1985) that focused on runners, tennis players, etc. probably do not include a representative sample. Thus, it could be argued that the volume of research is near to being representative of the general American population

2. It is concluded that SDL research cannot be described as being based on one research method as claimed by Brookfield. Surprisingly, the more than 300 research items are almost evenly divided among qualitative and quantitative methods. Only the dissertations, reported between 1966 and 1991 favor quantitative methodology. Recent trends indicate that qualitative dissertations now equal or exceed the number of quantitative ones.

3. The review reveals that numerous instruments are reported in research. While it is true that Guglielmino's SDLRS is the most frequently used instrument only 43 (27%) dissertations out of 158 reported in 1977 and following were based on it. It is obvious that the SDLRS is the instrument of choice and that it has been used far more frequently than other instruments such as Oddi's Continuing Learning Inventory (OCLI). Nevertheless, the assertion that self-directed learning research is a one-instrument research topic overstates the situation. This observation is further supported by the following conclusion.

4. It is obvious that the use of scales, interviews, surveys and other means of collecting information concerning SDL has not focused on numbers of learning activity while ignoring questions of quality or effectiveness.

5. It is concluded that a large majority of the SDL research focuses on the learner within a social setting rather than the solitary learner.

6. SDL researchers have not been concerned greatly with broad social and political implications of their findings. Yet, this is not greatly different from other topics.

7. The above conclusions call Brookfield's (1984,1988) assertions into question. It appears that his description of self-directed learning research was probably over-stated when they were made. Differences between the conclusions offered here and Brookfield's position are explained in part by the definitions used by this writer and Brookfield and by the use of an extensive corpus of research compared with Brookfield's limited sources. The research has changed since 1984, but a comprehensive review of the literature then available probably would have resulted in conclusions similar to those reported above.

8 . This analysis is not an attack on Brookfield. many scholars find themselves inclined to comment on research or other topics based on a limited review of the literature. Limitations should be imposed on such comments, however, and the constraints should be made clear. Secondly, individuals who continue to cite Brookfield's 1984 and 1988 comments without a caveat perhaps mislead readers even more. The use of secondary references without efforts to check the current literature reaffirms and magnifies the original error.

9. Researchers concerned with SDL should be aware of Brookfield's description and make special efforts, whenever appropriate, to address the criticism by describing samples more fully, by carefully considering the research problem and selecting the appropriate research method, instruments and sample.

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FORGOTTEN LEADERS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ADULT EDUCATION: 1863-1963

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This study examined (a) the vision and efforts of five mid-nineteenth and twentieth century leaders of the education of African American adults: Alain L. Locke, Ambrose Caliver, Mary Church Terrell, Carter G. Woodson, and W.E.B. DuBois; (b) the contributions of these five leaders with a focus on how they educated and organized within their prevailing segregated and racist environments; and (c) the significance and extent of the exclusion of the education of African American adults in the major historical texts of adult education.

Alain L. Locke: (1886-1954)

The major African American contributor to the emergence of the modern American adult education movement is Alain L. Locke. In 1946, Locke became the first African American to become president of the American Association of Adult Education (AAAE).

Born in Philadelphia, Locke was a Phi Beta Kappa honour graduate of Harvard. In 1907, he became the first African American to receive a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford in England.

Locke's active involvement in the AAAE began in 1924 when he served as a delegate to the first national conference on adult education. Two years later, Locke became one of a select group of educators consulted to advise the Carnegie Corporation about the needs of adults and formation of a national organization. As a founding member of the AAAE, Locke continued in the adult education movement for the remainder of his life. From 1926 until the time of his death, Locke published several articles on adult education in the AAAE's journal publications. In 1936, the Journal of Adult Education published an article by Locke titled The Intellectual Interests of Negroes. This article expressed Locke's philosophy on African American adult education and introduced the field to the Bronze Booklet Series, a series of nine essays by African American writers, which he edited. Locke utilized his influences to connect AAAE to other organizations, such as the American Library Association and the Associates of Negro Folk Education. In addition, Locke helped to organize adult education programs in libraries in Atlanta, Harlem, Chicago, Washington, D.C. and Cleveland.

In 1946, Locke was elected President of the AAAE. As President, Locke articulated in his writings his philosophy of cultural pluralism and his vision for the AAAE.

Despite Locke's contributions to the modern mainstream adult education movement, Knowles' (1962) history of the American adult education movement included Locke only marginally. As an influential African American educator for nearly three decades, Locke's contributions to the mainstream adult education movement have clearly been undervalued. As a lifelong adult educator, Locke (a) served as a founding member and later president of the AAAE, (b) linked the AAAE to the American Library Association and the Associates of Negro Folk Education, (c) organized libraries' involvement for African American adult education in other cities, (d) coordinated the Bronze Booklet Series, and (e) published articles on educating adults in AAAE's scholarly publications. Surely Locke's contributions to the mainstream movement deserve more than a footnote recognition in the field's histories.

Ambrose Caliver: (1894-1962)

Ambrose Caliver may have been the most influential federal civil servant leader of adult literacy education in America. In this study, he is the least recognized figure. Born the son of poor Virginia farmers, Caliver worked in coal mines at an early age and learned values that remained with him for life (Daniel & Holden, 1966). Caliver earned a bachelor's degree from Knoxville College in 1915, a master's degree from the University of Wisconsin, and his doctorate from Columbia Teacher's College in 1929.

In 1915, Caliver began his professional career as an administrator in African American high schools. He served as a principal in Tennessee and then as an assistant principal in Texas. From 1917-1929, he served at Fisk University as an instructor and director of the summer school. During this period, he rose to become the first African American dean of the University. After thirteen years at Fisk, Caliver was appointed specialist in the education of African Americans at the U.S. Office of Education in Washington, D.C. (Daniel & Holden, 1966).

Caliver achieved many firsts in his thirty years at the Office of Education. He developed a centralized clearinghouse for African American education. It functioned to conduct and direct educational research, stimulate interest in the potential conditions for African American education, and to assist in the various research activities and issues in African American schools and education (Daniel & Holden, 1966). Moreover, Caliver's perseverance against racism at the Office of Education resulted in many internal and external policy changes.

Under Caliver's leadership, from 1930-1945, the Office of Education developed pamphlets, monographs, bibliographies, and surveys on African American education. The Office also organized special committees, hosted conferences, and conducted surveys on vocational education and higher education to develop data on African American education. Quigley (in press) observed that Caliver's advocacy for literacy education contributed to the development of social policy for the redistribution of social justice: "Caliver was at the forefront of the development of the Magna Carta of Negro Education, which was printed and distributed in thousands during 1934-35, asserting the rights of African Americans to an equal education" (p. 15).

During the early 1950s, Caliver's participation in the emerging Adult Education Association (AEA) increased. A prodigious thinker and organizer, Caliver's main goal was to link adult education to the national education community. In 1954, he became Chairman of the AEA's Section on Literacy and Fundamental Education. A year later, he founded the AEA's National Commission for Adult Literacy Education. An inspiring writer, Caliver wrote several articles for AEA's Adult Leadership. These articles proclaimed his dedication to professional growth and development and expressed his concern for illiteracy in America. A progressive leader, in 1961 Caliver was elected president of the AEA for the 1961-1962 term. Unfortunately, he died suddenly on January 29, 1962.

Caliver's contributions to the field of adult education and the upstart AEA came later in his distinguished career. Yet, from 1930-1962, Caliver's courageous contributions to African American education and the AEA deserve inclusion in the field's histories and recognition among contemporary practitioners.

Mary Church Terrell: (1863-1954)

Mary Church Terrell was born in 1863, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation in Memphis, Tennessee. As the daughter of one of America's wealthiest African Americans, she received a privileged upbringing. In 1884, she graduated from Oberlin College with the degree of Master of Arts.

For a few years, Terrell taught school at Wilberforce University. In 1890, Terrell became one of the most prominent female leaders in the U.S. and Europe. Chitterden (1975) notes that Terrell's emergence as a leader for African American women began in 1890 when she spoke at the convention for the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and said, "White women have to overcome only one handicap -- a great one, true -- their sex; colored women face two -- their sex and race" (p. 32). During this period, Terrell became very good friends with two of the most famous women's suffrage leaders in American history, Susan B. Anthony and Jane Addams. Later, Terrell joined Anthony and Addams in the campaign to provide women the right to vote, which later led to ratification of the nineteenth amendment.

Terrell was an adult education organizer for the creation of the Women's Club Movement. In 1892, she led the formation of the National Colored Women's League of Washington, D.C. The League's objectives included: racial and social progress, formation of a national organization, industrial and educational purposes, educational improvement of African American women, and the promotion of their community interests (Neverdon-Morton, 1989). The National Colored Women's

League of Washington quickly branched to other cities. In 1896, the League merged with the National Federation of Afro-American Women to form the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Under Terrell's leadership from 1896-1901, the NACW adopted its motto "Lifting As We Climb." As a nationalized effort, the NACW established itself as the first cohesive national organization of African American women and raised the civic consciousness of thousands of mothers, wives, and workers. When Terrell's presidency ended in 1901, the NACW was firmly established as the premier African American women's self-help organization. She then served actively for the next fifty years as "Honourary President" (Harley, 1988).

Terrell's leadership in such women's groups enabled her to become the most visible, outspoken advocate for African American women in America for decades. As the catalyst for the organizing of the women's club movement, she provided leadership for the social, political, and educational advancement of women, particularly African American women and their voluntary organizations for informal adult education on the local, national, and international scene. Terrell deserves her place in the history of the field of adult education alongside Jane Addams and others as an unrelenting voice for the women's movement.

Carter G. Woodson: (1875-1950)

Carter G. Woodson, generally considered the "Father of African American History," during his life never attained the popularity of Terrell, Locke, or DuBois. Like Caliver, lack of recognition did not deter him from creating pragmatic solutions to the educational needs of African Americans.

Born in Canton, Virginia in 1875, the son of a tenant farmer and a former slave, he experienced rural poverty and little early education. He worked as a coal miner before graduating late from high school at the age of twenty-two. He continued his education at Berea College and Lincoln University and earned an A.B. and a master's degree at the University of Chicago in 1907 and 1908. In 1912, he earned a Ph.D. in history from Harvard (Adams, 1984).

As a pioneer institution organizer, Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 in Washington, D.C. The ASNLH provided the foundation for the distribution of books on African American and African history and stimulated studies in Black communities throughout North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Clubs and classes were often held in churches, schools, and fraternal organizations. In 1916, Woodson founded the Journal of Negro History to serve as the scholarly voice of the ASNLH. The Journal of Negro History soon became the most scholarly African American publication in the world, distributed throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and North and South America (Rodgers, 1972). In 1920, Woodson also founded the Associated Publishers, Inc. to serve the demand for the ASNLH's books and to provide African American writers a publishing company.

Perhaps Woodson's greatest contribution to the education of African American adults was the establishment of "Negro History Week" in February, 1926, a week consisting of activities designed to celebrate the contributions of Africans and African Americans to the world. By the late 1920's and early 1930's, Negro History Week had become so popular that Woodson created a periodical, the Negro History Bulletin, in 1937 to meet African Americans' growing interest in their history.

A scholar of diverse interests and talents, Woodson published the first continuing professional education books and manuals for African American professionals. His first was The Negro Professional and the Community. A few years later, he published the first source manual for African American professionals. In 1939, he published the first continuing education publication for African American medical professionals.

As a lifelong educator, Woodson had few peers. He was the first educator to (a) establish African American history studies, (b) found scholarly journals, publications, and associations for teaching Black history, (c) conduct continuing education studies for African American professionals, and (d) publish a continuing education source manual of African American professionals. Today, his pioneering contributions remain essential to the formal and informal learning of African American adults. Therefore, as the "Father of African American History," his contributions certainly deserve inclusion in our adult education history.

W.E.B. DuBois: (1868-1963)

W.E.B. DuBois's contributions to the educational development of African Americans transcend categorical definitions. Born in 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, DuBois's early life and education at Fisk and Harvard have been documented by many historians and scholars. He ranks as one of the greatest figures in African American history.

In 1896, he became the first African American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard. His dissertation, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States, 1638-1870, was published as Volume I of the Harvard Historical Series in 1896.

At the University of Pennsylvania, DuBois developed needs assessment questionnaires on family units, individuals, and domestic workers. He interviewed 5,000 African Americans to compile two centuries of history of the African American experience in Philadelphia. The study, The Pennsylvania Negro: A Sociological Study, published in 1899, became the first sociological study of African Americans (Marable, 1986).

At Atlanta University, DuBois expanded his sociological research by conducting annual thematic studies, reports, and conferences. From 1897 to 1910, he theorized that African Americans, as a racial group, were part of a changing, developing society, as opposed to a fixed social structure (DuBois, 1899). At Atlanta, DuBois's empirical approach utilized the conference method, the survey, and the needs assessment educational techniques to gather data to study African Americans. Thus, as a social scientist, DuBois pioneered techniques such as interviews, surveys, assessment questionnaires, and conferences.

Due to the increasing societal context of racism in America, DuBois characterized the twentieth century as the century of the color line. Consequently, in the early 1900's DuBois left the field of academia to found the Niagara Movement and its successor, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It is, perhaps, in the struggle for civil rights that he is most remembered. Yet, as the "Founder of African American Sociology" and pioneering social scientist, he should be included in the histories of the American adult education movement.

Conclusion

The contributions of leaders of African American adult education have been overwhelmingly excluded, as symbolized by the consistent exclusion of these five eminent adult education leaders. Reasons for their exclusions arise from the dominant culture represented by authors and researchers of the field's histories and the hegemony or cultural dominance reflected in the assumptions underlying our mainstream histories. Thus, the field's own ethnocentrism and apparent lack of inclusive purpose have contributed to such "blind spots" in our history texts. This study revealed a growing sensitization to this issue over the past thirty years and a growing, if still somewhat circumspect, commitment to the inclusion of African Americans.

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URBAN WOMEN AND AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION: THE CASE OF TANZANIA

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Urban women in Tanzanian towns and cities are increasingly becoming involved in modern agricultural production. Such urban agriculture requires that the agriculturalists have certain skills and knowledge for it to be profitable. These skills and knowledge can be acquired from the formal and/or informal educational sources.

Introduction

Agriculture in many African countries - Tanzania is no exception - has traditionally been a significant pre-occupation of the rural populace. More recently, agricultural activities of varying forms and magnitude have emerged in most African towns and cities (see Gbadegesin, 1991; Lado, 1990; Mlozi et al. 1989; Rakodi, 1988).

In Tanzania, with an estimated population of 24.0 million, agriculture is the backbone of the economy. About 80 percent of the people are engaged in subsistence agriculture. However, in recent years there have been significant new developments in agriculture. Most extraordinary is the involvement of elite women in urban agriculture, which can be defined as the rearing of animals and growing of crops in areas designated urban by the United Republic of Tanzania Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act Number 8, 1982 Section 80.

Purpose

The purpose of this study, conducted in the city of Dar es Salaam between 1986 and 1990, was to: (i) explain why elite urban women in Dar es Salaam have become involved in agriculture production; (ii) identify the governmental and non-governmental channels for sources of knowledge acquisition about urban agriculture; and (iii) examine the way agricultural extension services favoured elite (as compared to the underclass) women, thus perpetuating inequality.

Methodology

The study employed a qualitative methodology, where interactions were maintained with elite and the underclass women as well as urban agricultural extension workers.

Women and Urban Agriculture: An Overview

The role played by women in urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam is undoubtedly paramount. As in most African countries, women in Tanzania dominate the production process, particularly in the agricultural sector. At the same time, they have continued to occupy a subordinate position in society to such an extent that they are limited in their gainful involvement in economic activities.

Africa is the region of female farming compared with other regions of the world (Boserup, 1970). Women in Tanzania's largest city, Dar es Salaam, used to be described as 'relatively inactive' as regards paid work or self-employment (Bryceson & Swantz, 1985). The city has an estimated population of 1.3 million people (1988 census) in an area covering 1,100 square kilometers. The [Self-employed activity] situation could not have been more different in the late 1980s, with as many as 66 per cent [of the women] in Dar es Salaam being self-employed (Tripp, 1989).

The Self-employed figures have risen substantially since 1985 due to Tanzania's shift in policy to revitalize the battered economy. Various restructuring programs such as trade liberalization and economic improvement were introduced. The country has moved toward economic pragmatism with a drastic shift from a state-controlled to a market-based economy, and a shift from the predominant political rhetoric of socialism to pragmatism. Private enterprises and individual initiative, once neglected have been promoted, favouring the development of the informal sector in the city, including urban agriculture.

In Dar es Salaam, employed women have gradually opted out of salaried jobs to take up high income-generating projects including urban agriculture. This situation started during the economic crisis in Tanzania from the 1970s through the

1980s. A dramatic decline in urban family incomes made most urban wage-earners seek alternative ways of earning money. This led to the emergence of urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam.

Most women urban agriculturalists interviewed indicated that, when a decision was made to start an urban agriculture project, they chose to leave their salaried jobs where they earned less than men. This was further confirmed when most married women interviewed indicated that the capital for starting their urban agriculture projects was initially provided and approved by their spouses. Obbo (1980) states that

> Urban women, in order to gain wealth, power and status, not only worked hard but capitalized on the traditional virtues of submission and services and their roles as wives or mothers (p. 102).

Earnings from urban agriculture projects were found to be ten times more than a woman would earn from a salaried job. The Swahili coined term "Mama Miradi" (Woman running a Project) captures well the importance of having an informal successful project in a city. In the case of urban agriculture, successful projects for these women involve keeping dairy cattle and poultry for egg and broiler meat production. This has recently become such a dream for most urban women that at any point they may quit salaried jobs to start a "project," frequently involving urban agriculture.

A few decades ago, agricultural activities were abhorred and relegated by urban women as occupations of the "uneducated beleaguered rural women." These activities today are considered to be urban economic saviours. This increased awareness of the importance of urban agriculture among women in Dar es Salaam has put greater educational demands on the agricultural/livestock extension service. The increase in environmental degradation due to growing numbers of animals has worried the Dar es Salaam City Council because its by-laws meant to prevent urban agriculture are being grossly violated. Who are the women involved in this economic change? The next section looks at a typology of the women undertaking urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam.

Typology of Women Urban Agriculturalists

An understanding of the typology of women urban agriculturalists serves as a heuristic device in comprehending the following: (1) their geographical distribution in Dar es Salaam city relative to the Central Business District (CBD); (2) their mode of production which to a large extent is dictated by the city infrastructure at their exposal; and (3) their socioeconomic status has an impact on the form and magnitude of the enterprise.

A typical typology of women urban agriculturalists can be said to include:

(1) Elite urban women: These kept an average of four milking dairy cows and six yearlings, 600 broiler chickens and 300 laying hens. This group was found to comprise about ten per cent of the women, and resided in the low density areas of Dar es Salaam, within two to seven kilometers from the CBD. They were more likely to get loans from the national banks and had an average family size of five people. Most had bought farms outside Dar es Salaam. Most women in this group were married with high levels of education, above Form Four (Grade 12). Their spouses were more likely to be senior officers in the Ruling Party - CCM (Revolutionary Party of Tanzania), government, quasi-government institutions, private companies, private businesses and the Armed Forces. Elite women were more likely to have access to spouses' office/institution vehicles which were used for urban agriculture projects' chores. Most owned cars and houses and they were more likely to have received intensive contacts from the agricultural/livestock extension workers.

(2) Middle elite urban women: These kept about 300 broiler chickens, 200 laying hens, with an average of two dairy cows and three yearlings in the herd. This group comprised about twenty per cent of the total urban women involved in urban agriculture. However, they were less likely to get loans and extension service contacts. Their average family size was smaller (four). Most resided in the medium density areas, were married and their spouses held middle-rank positions in the above named offices or institutions. Middle elite women had higher education levels (above Form Four).

(3) The underclass urban women: These were a majority comprising about 50 per cent of the total women urban agriculturalists. Their enterprises were small, and they resided in high density areas with poor infrastructure. Family size was large, averaging about seven people. Most had low levels of education - below primary education (Std. Seven). Most underclass urban women grew the African spinach Amaranthus hybridus and a variety of vegetables, including tomatoes, spinach, and okra. Other crops grown included cassava, rice, maize, cow peas, bananas, pineapple, coconuts and oranges. These crops were mainly raised in the backyards, on pavements, along road sides, in valleys and far away fields. Few kept chickens, and if so the numbers about 100, for broiler and egg production. Due to scarcity of space, dairy cattle were rarely kept, and agricultural/livestock extension services were minimally provided.

In Dar es Salaam there existed a small group of urban women who bought day old chicks (DOCs), mainly broilers, from Zambia and sold them mostly to elite women urban agriculturalists. These women were relatively young, between 29 and 35, and mostly single mothers or unmarried women. They were often relatives or acquaintances of families of the elite urban women.

Day old chicks brought in to Dar es Salaam from Zambia were relatively expensive compared to local chicks but were preferred because they were less prone to endemic poultry diseases prevalent in the city. The broiler "projects" had had a successful history and enormous impact on the incomes of most elite women urban agriculturalists.

Compelling Reasons for Urban Agriculture

This study was guided by Miller's (1967) notion of field-force analysis. It was assumed that when elite women decide to become urban agriculturalists their decisions result from a complex interaction of personal needs, social forces and opportunities for participation. Women are reinforced on one side by the agricultural extension educational endeavors provided by the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Co-operative Development (MALCD), and on the other, by the economic and social mobility that can result from successful agricultural projects and the sale of produce.

Personal needs: Urban agriculture provides an essential source of food and income to many families in Dar es Salaam. For example, in a pilot urban agriculture research project conducted in six Tanzanian cities/towns (Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Morogoro, Mbeya, Kilosa and Makambako), about 90 per cent of the respondents indicated that their involvement in urban agriculture was primarily to provide food for their families (Mvena et al. 1991). Other urban agriculture studies referred to earlier have also confirmed that the provision of food was a paramount motive among agriculturalists.

In Dar es Salaam, about 80 per cent of the women interviewed said that income accrued from urban agriculture projects was used to purchase food related items. Most women also expressed that some of the money earned from their "projects" was spent on classical clothes and cosmetic items they admired. The independence gained from their projects was reflected in an ability to do as they pleased with their earnings (Tripp, 1989). One prominent city woman who stayed permanently with three grandchildren, providing them with all their basic needs from clothing to food, praised urban agriculture "projects" by saying: "My urban agriculture projects have provided me with enough money to feed myself and these three kids, because their mothers earn just enough for their survival and cannot adequately sustain the kids."

Social and economic mobilities: Involvement in an urban agriculture "projects" in Dar es Salaam has positive social forces attached to it. Most women are motivated by the desire to attain superior social and economic goods by using earnings obtained from the urban agriculture "projects." Many confided happily that, with the money earned form the urban agriculture "projects," they had been able to start house "projects" and have bought farms. Superior social goods in Tanzania include: (1) paying for children's education in private Tanzanian schools;

(2) procuring classic clothes for families; (3) being able to build a "modern" house; (4) buying a car/truck, video, or television set; (5) being able to buy, develop and maintain a farm on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam; and (6) being able to socialize by drinking beer and dining in high class city hotels.

Agricultural Extension and Elite Women

Agricultural extension in many settings has come to mean a process where individuals called farmers are helped in acquiring knowledge for improved agricultural endeavors. For example, Ban and Hawkins (1988), in their famous book titled "Agricultural Extension," assert that extension is a process which: helps farmers ..., increases farmers' knowledge ..., helps farmers acquire ..., and so on. Warner et al. (1989) define extension as an agent of change. To them, extension is "to get a farmer to adopt improved production practices or a homemaker to prepare a more balanced diet, extension instigates change" (p. 16).

Furthermore, Lamble (1984) provides a communication model which includes five elements: the message; source; receiver; channel and effect. Here the source of knowledge is defined as "an individual who has the knowledge or the innovation" - who happens to be the extension agent. While, Rogers (1983) recognizes information sources other than the extension, it seems apparent that in the agricultural extension profession farmers have been construed as "empty vessels" who have to be filled with "new knowledge." To a large extent this view still prevails in the Tanzanian agricultural extension service. However, this service is not the only source of knowledge for women practicing urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam.

Sources of information about urban agriculture for elites and the underclass women seem to exist within the women themselves, who can be said to have acquired knowledge of such sources after they have processed different kinds of information. As regards urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam, there are two main sources of information: government and non-government.

Messages (defined as a new idea or practice [Lamble, 1984]) which originate from the two sources tend to be concerned with what Habermas (1971) described as technical, practical and emancipatory knowledge, and are received through three kinds of channels. In Dar es Salaam these channels involve the interpersonal; interpersonal supplemented by materials; and the mass media. However, it was observed that the elite and underclass women urban agriculturalists varied in the manner and extent to which they received (or acquired) information from government and non-government sources. Also the utilization of the different channels for acquiring the three types of knowledge differed as well.

Most elite women urban agriculturalists relied on non-governmental sources of information, exploiting mainly interpersonal channels. As viable sources of knowledge acquisition about urban agriculture, most women of all typologies used neighbors, friends, and family members. This was particularly important among the underclass women who received less information from the interpersonal plus materials and the mass media channels.

This study found that agricultural extension service was less important as a source in disseminating knowledge concerning urban agriculture. Extension workers were more likely to offer advice to elite women urban agriculturalists than to the underclass. One explanation of how elite women secured continued skills and knowledge from the extensionists was by rewarding them for each visit made to their agricultural enterprises. Working with elite women was also perceived by most extensionists as a way to earn recognition and a prerequisite for upward mobility in the extension organization.

Elite women, through their spouses, were considered by many extensionists to be able to influence and talk to the extensionists' bosses on issues concerning promotions, further training, increases in salary, and making positive recommendations. These abilities were considered lacking among the underclass women, who occupied lower ranks in the social strata. In Dar es Salaam, where two thirds of the agricultural extension workers are women, elite women urban agriculturalists preferred to call on and or seek advice from male extensionists. There was also a significant interpersonal diffusion of new ideas and practices about urban agriculture among the elite women.

Conclusions

With respect to why elite women were involved in urban agriculture, it was concluded that the most important factors which motivated them were the abilities to: (1) provide food for their families; (2) offset soaring living costs; and (3) derive superior social and economic goods. The non-governmental sources of information featured prominently among all types of women. With respect to the third purpose - the way extension services favours elite women - it was concluded that extension workers find it easier to work with elite women. Additionally, it was found that the non-governmental sources of knowledge acquisition about urban agriculture were used by most women. The interpersonal channel, using neighbors, friends and family members was more effective for the diffusion of innovations than the sources of the extension workers. There are myriad information sources, formal and informal.

Implications

Several implications flow from this study. First, there are profound implications for agricultural extension programs which have historically been aimed at rural people. There is now a need to adapt them to urban areas and reach both elite and underclass women. However, because of the more intensive encouragement provided to elite women, who happen also to benefit most from loans, the urban environment faces ecological catastrophe, and extension workers must consider the extent to which they contribute to environmental degradation. Agricultural extension education efforts need to be provided equitably and designed to preserve the urban environment.

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TOWARD A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS

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This paper examines the African American's institutional history of adult education, highlights the contributions of black adult educators, and suggests an agenda for research. This paper also looks at how social, political, and historical events influenced adult education for African Americans.

African Americans[1] have been fully involved in the adult education movement, yet their history is briefly addressed or not mentioned at all in much of the literature on the adult education movement. In most cases, African American's adult education programs have paralleled those of the majority group. Much of adult education for blacks, however, has been directed by the historical, social, and political events that have occurred throughout history. This paper examines the African American's institutional history of adult education; presents a broad overview of African American's contributions to adult education; addresses the varying themes of adult education that evolved as a result of the political and social events; and presents an agenda for research.

Before Emancipation (1700s - 1865)
Educating for Subservience, Literacy, and Liberation

Prior to emancipation, educating blacks (slaves) was not considered a necessity, and, for the most part, was strictly forbidden. After 1830, all southern states prohibited the education of blacks (Woodson, 1968) because education was viewed as inflammatory and as a disruptive threat to the social order of white control. The only permissible education was the religious and moral training provided by churches and apprenticeship training. Even in this environment of forbidden education blacks were able to continue their educational efforts, though with limited means. Education was primarily self-education with much learning through experience (Cartwright, 1945; Reid, 1945). Blacks gained education through the "hidden passage" - listening to the conversation of whites and the "slave grapevine" (Fleming, 1976). Slaves' didactic tales had elements of proper conduct and righteous living, but also strategies for survival (Levine, 1977). Clandestine schools and secret literacy sessions known as "stealin' the meeting" were held by free blacks to teach slaves to read and write (Fleming, 1976). The black church was also a primary instrument of education, providing religious instruction, literacy training, and leadership training. As early as 1775, the Prince Hall Freemasonry, the oldest and most prestigious black fraternal order, was providing some form of adult education through its intellectual and practical business schools and through its emphasis on manners, social graces, and citizenship training (Muraskin, 1976).

During the 1800s to 1850s, blacks were aided in their quest for literacy and liberation by a variety of black organizations such as literary societies, reading rooms, and lyceums (Franklin, 1978; Morgan, 1990; Quarles, 1969). These organizations sponsored adult education activities including lectures; education in black heritage, industrial, and community development; and education for social and political advancement. The black press also served as an educational medium (Dann, 1971; Lawson, 1945; Reedy, 1934). The black press printed information on such topics as farming, principles of political action, and business practices, but also pushed for an egalitarian system and argued for resistance to oppression. The Abolitionist Movement was an organized educational effort directed toward education for liberation (Herbert, 1912). During the era of moral reform and temperance, blacks formed societies to advocate black self-help and temperance and to provide literacy training and cultural awareness. Leaders of the National Negro Convention Movement (1830 -1853) developed education-for-living programs and advocated black self-help (Morris, 1976). All of these movements and organizations provided a sustained impetus for blacks' educational efforts in pursuit of literacy, liberation, and self-reliance.

Post Emancipation (1865 - 1900s)
Educating for Literacy, Independent Living, Self-Improvement, and Vocation

After the Civil War, the educational emphasis was on literacy, basic skills for independent living, and vocational education. At the end of the Civil War, the illiteracy rate for blacks was over 95% (Ballard, 1973). Education was first undertaken by the government sponsored Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen & Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau) which emphasized strict morality, responsibility, and religion (Morris, 1976). Missionary societies from the North also participated in the education of blacks, though their emphasis was on religious and moral training. These missionaries used "readers" that portrayed blacks in subservient, stereotypical roles which were designed to inculcate in ex-slaves an acceptance of economic and racial subordination (Anderson, 1988).

Another organized educational effort during this time was the farmers' alliances. The Colored Farmers Alliance was a national organization with social and educational programs operating under the theme of self-help and racial uplift (Taylor, 1976). The alliance offered programs on crop production and debt management, among other topics. The Farmers Conferences held in the 1890s, sponsored by Tuskegee, also provided an organized form of adult education, as did the movable school. The Jesup Agricultural Wagon traveled to communities to demonstrate improved methods of farming (Gyant, 1988, James, 1971). The Farmers Institute at Tuskegee provided specific agricultural advice in an organized educational setting (James, 1971).

After the Civil War, the ex-slaves were struggling to develop social and political ideologies to defend their emancipation (Anderson, 1988), but the ruling majority did not envision the full participation of blacks in society. Whites did not support education for blacks and viewed industrial training as the only acceptable education for blacks. Thus, during the late 1800s industrial schools proliferated, especially in the South. Samuel T. Armstrong of Hampton Institute and Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute were the primary proponents of industrial education and their programs were used as models. While these programs did provide some industrial training, they primarily provided teacher training (Anderson, 1988). Hampton Institute was one of the first black colleges to sponsor night schools for adults to provide literacy education (Reid, 1945). In 1905, DuBois and other intellectual black leaders organized the Niagara Movement, a national program formed to oppose Booker T. Washington's educational philosophy and to protest against racial injustices, political suppression, and unequal educational opportunities (Bullock, 1966).

The Black Women's Club Movement (1890s) was another major contributor to adult education. These black women's clubs emphasized raising the cultural, intellectual, and educational status of black women through parent education, leadership training, and a variety of classes and literary and artistic activities (Jones, 1982). The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs became the first cohesive national forum for black women to assert their role in the drive for social reform. These black women's clubs were elitist in their outlook, but believed that their efforts would pave the way for the untalented and the uneducated (Hine, 1990).

Informal adult education was prevalent during the Negro Liberation Movement (1901-1910). Racial pride was championed through song, literature, and poetry. In 1900, James Weldon Johnson wrote "Lift Every Voice" which became African American's national anthem and in 1903, W. E. DuBois wrote Souls of Black Folk which served to "bury Uncle Tom" (Bullock, 1967).

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909, was active in adult education programs, especially in leadership training and in educating the majority group on the problems of African Americans (Taylor, 1976; Wilkins, 1945). The NAACP used litigation, legislation, and education in its fight against inequality, lynchings, and injustices in the judicial system.

The Great Migration - World War I, The Great Depression
World War II, The New Deal (1900 - 1940s)
Educating for Urban Living, Social Adjustment, and Racial Pride

With the onset of World War I, many blacks began their migration North. In the North, blacks had a different set of problems to deal with, namely adjusting to urban living and interracial tensions. The National Urban League, founded in 1911, was an enlightened program of adult education that stressed the interracial character of education (Heninburg, 1945). The National Urban League saw education as two-fold: educating blacks on how to adjust to city life and educating management and white workers on accepting blacks as workers. The Industrial Relations Laboratory disseminated positive information regarding blacks' competence in the workforce designed to help break down stereotypes of inferiority.

The Settlement House Movement (1880s - 1900s) influenced black adult education. While most settlement houses under white leadership emphasized Americanization for the foreign born and education for democratic leadership, some did offer adult education programs for southern blacks to help them adjust to life in urban areas, and others provided instruction in English (Lindsay, 1945). The settlement houses under black leadership were mostly found in the North, and focused on social and educational programs directed toward helping blacks attain more self-direction in their lives and in adjusting to urban living (Lindsay, 1945).

Much of adult education was achieved through organization of the masses. A. Philip Randolph and his March on Washington organization used collective power to achieve equality for blacks in war industries and apprenticeship programs (Wolters, 1970). Another effective demonstration of the power of collective action was the "Buying Power Movement" during the 1930s. Blacks engaged in picketing and boycotting ("don't buy where you can't work") to force white employers to hire black workers. The educational focus of these programs was that of liberation through power and collective action.

A popular informal adult education program was the Bronze Booklets published by the Associates in Negro Folk Education (Gyant, 1988; Reid, 1945). These reading courses, designed to acquaint blacks with their history, cultural contributions and problems, contained study outlines, reading lists, and suggestions for further study (Holmes, 1965). The New Negro Movement, the Harlem Renaissance and Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement all fueled an interest in black history. In 1926, Carter G. Woodson organized the first Black History Week, which continues today as Black History Month.

In 1938, the first Annual Conference on Adult Education and the Negro was conducted under the auspices of the American Association for Adult Education, the extension department of Hampton Institute, and Associates in Negro Folk Education. Though the conferences were criticized for being ineffective and out of touch with education for blacks, they did represent an organized effort to address the black adult's situation (Redd, 1945). Alain Locke, an African American, lobbied against the continued segregation of adult education programs during his tenure as president of the Adult Education Association of America and stressed the importance of emancipatory and cultural education (Harris, 1989). Ambrose Caliver, another influential black adult educator in the 1940s, was instrumental in improving literacy education for African Americans (Gyant, 1988).

The federal government was involved to some degree in adult education for blacks. The New Deal programs (Civilian Conservation Corps, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and Work Projects Administration) were discriminatory in nature, but they did provide some training and educational opportunities for blacks. Other federal government educational efforts included the Vocational Training for War Production Workers program to teach skills in aircraft, shipbuilding, welding, electricity, and radio communications and the G.I. Bill of 1944 that fostered the back-to-school movement of returning veterans. The U.S. Army's Special Training Units for illiterates provided instruction in reading, language, and arithmetic (Evans, 1945).

Adult education for blacks was conducted, to a small degree, through the segregated public schools, mainly through evening classes. The primary emphasis was on literacy and simple vocational skills (Redd, 1945). A unique program was the "Negro Adult College" whose content centered around the practical problems of the black participants (Redd, 1945).

Civil Rights, Black Power, and Equal Opportunity (1950s - 1990s)
Educating for Citizenship, Empowerment, Leadership, and Self-Liberation

Although blacks were granted citizenship in 1868, they still could not avail themselves of all the privileges of citizenship. During the 1950s and 1960s blacks protested their second-class citizenship and agitated for equality. Numerous organizations, such as the Highlander Folk School, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were involved in leadership training, citizenship training, literacy training and consciousness-raising. These organizations used a variety of adult education programs to educate blacks about the power of the vote and collective action. The Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement were also fueled by the rhetoric of their charismatic leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr, Malcolm X, and Stokely Carmichael.

During the 1970s blacks made tremendous progress as a result of legislative action and their organized efforts. Since then, blacks' progress has eroded and a sense of powerlessness prevails. Thus, once again, the call for self-respect, racial pride, and unity is being articulated through various organizations such as the Fruit of Islam, the US organization, and Malcolm X College. Similarly, black leaders are advocating psychological liberation as a precursor to political and economic liberation. The education of the African American adult has come full circle. As was true in 1865, the aim of adult education for blacks in the 1990s is empowerment and liberation.

An Agenda for Research

The history of adult education is not a history until it incorporates all groups. The following topics are suggested areas for further research to begin the task of recording a more balanced history of adult education. One avenue for research would be a comparative institutional history of adult education for African Americans and the majority group. Another avenue would be an investigative study of African American adult educators and their methods of educating, as well as a study of their adult education philosophies. A history of African Americans could also be written using the various themes of adult education that evolved as a result of the social, historical, and political events that were occurring. Each of these histories would offer differing perspectives of the adult education movement and its influence on African Americans.

[1] The author has used African American and black interchangeably.

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PROFESSIONALIZATION AND THE MID-CENTURY SHIFT IN EPISTEMOLOGY

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Drawing from archival sources, analysis is made of the change in focus from the initial years of the Commission of the Professors of Adult Education to the late 1960s when scientific expertise emerged as a professional model.

This research is part of an historical study that focuses on philosophy of adult education, exploring a shift that took place during the 1950s to the 1970s, one that promoted mainstream value and epistemological assumptions. The purpose of this specific research, focusing on the Commission of the Professors of Adult Education, is to document the shift in philosophy of knowledge as adult education became increasingly institutionalized and professionalized in American universities.

The theoretical framework of the research follows that of my recent scholarship in this area; e.g., "Philosophies, Practices and American Values" (1986), "From Lindeman to Knowles: A Change in Vision" (1989), and "Change of Direction in American Philosophy of Adult Education" (1991). This framework integrates cultural and philosophical dimensions into the historical analysis, emphasizing the growing effects of modern American individualism and institutional life (e.g., Bellah et al, 1985) on philosophy of adult education. These effects are reflected, at least in the United States, in the emergence of Behaviorist and Humanistic philosophies with their focus on individual learning psychology. This emergence left two earlier traditions in weakened states: Liberal Arts with its emphases on theoretical ideas and interdisciplinary scholarship; and Social Action with its tie between adult education and social movements.

The primary methodology of the research presented here is one of analyzing archival materials from the Adult and Continuing Education Collections at Syracuse University. Data were collected during my participation in the 1991 Kellogg Visiting Scholar Research-in-Progress History Conference, the theme of which was "Reconstructing the Mainstream: Issues of Race, Class, and Gender." The base of data draws primarily from the Collection on the Commission of the Professors of Adult Education (CPAE), special material being available at the conference. Although other sources include the Malcolm Knowles Papers and the Center for the Study of Liberal Adult Education Collection, the Commission of Professors minutes, reports and correspondence provide the core from which the analysis is built.

The following two sections summarize analyses, first, of the initial years of CPAE and, second, of a decade later when the organization had expanded. (Because the earlier meetings were transcribed in detail as a consequence of foundation support, the available data is much more complete than for the later meetings.) After these two summaries, a contextual analysis probes the forces that influenced the apparent shift in epistemological focus among CPAE participants.

Commission of the Professors of Adult Education: 1955 - 1960

Most of the discussions at the early meetings, after CPAE's founding meeting in 1955, revolved around a core question: What should be the content of the field of adult education? These discussions were filled with other philosophical questions surrounding this core question: What is the relationship between adult education and the rest of the university, especially the social sciences? Is adult education a discipline of its own, or is it a field that draws from academic disciplines such as history and psychology? In the early discussions about graduate education (and with reference to Dewey's warning about educationists trying to create a science of education), there was some concern about "a preoccupation with proof that they [adult educators] are equal to social scientists" (Report on The Allerton Park Conference, 1955).

Another related question in the early meetings was, What is the best preparation for a career in adult education--professional or general? This, of course, uncovered the question of the role of the adult educator. And this tied to questions that, although not new to American adult education, received focused attention at these meetings: What is more important in understanding adult education? Are psychological factors more important than sociological conditions? Is the individual more important than the environment? Does the individual take precedence over the community? Even the definition of "community" received intense debate in 1958, demonstrating that a diversity of assumptions was valued: "if there are varying points of view and we can't resolve them, we ought to be sure they get stated in future documents. We have to allow here that unanimity is not the objective" (CPAE Proceedings, 1958).

Although philosophical issues for professors of adult education were not new, the increased attention to empirical research was. But even here, the questions remained largely philosophical: What is "research" in adult education? What should be the theory of adult education? What is the relationship between theory and practice? What is the relationship between method and learning? What is the aim of learning? What is the relationship between psychology of adult learning and the nature of the adult? The discussions about research continually circled back to philosophical questions: "Wouldn't it be important to discover what is meant by the word, research?...There is the research we envy in social science, but frankly I think we ought to let social science do it...there is a great deal of research being done in adult education which doesn't show up in the accepted research forms" (CPAE Proceedings, 1957).

In the early meetings, the diversity of assumptions that permeated the discussions was never covered with any drive toward consensus, as Houle indicated after one heated debate: " As I have listened to this it has become very clear to me that we do disagree on everything except for agreement on the necessity for having a theory of adult education method (CPAE Proceedings, 1957).

By 1960, the conference theme of "Philosophical Issues in Adult Education" (with Horace Kallen as consulting philosopher) reflected the priorities of the membership. And as the last of the Kellogg-sponsored conferences was being planned for 1961 (also with a guest philosopher), planning was also underway for Adult Education--Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study ("The Black Book," as it is now called). The intensive discussions in recent years had laid the groundwork for a book designed to "introduce new ideas and ways of thinking about the conceptual foundations of adult education as a university discipline" and to "stimulate a growing and ever widening discourse and dialogue about the essential kinds of knowledge and practice which are essential to a thoughtful and effective adult educator" (1964). But the 1960s in university adult education were just beginning.

Commission of the Professors of Adult Education: 1965 - 1970

Discourse about ideas and ways of thinking about conceptual foundations and essential knowledge of adult education did not disappear a decade later, but the epistemological focus clearly appears to have changed. The research agenda for Commission members was at a new stage of empiricism, with attention to theory building and research competencies.

A Committee on Theory Building still reflected some diversity, but the social science model was no longer questioned. Adult education was becoming a "new discipline" whose "professionalization is progressing rapidly" and that needs to be "based on clearly formulated, testable, theory" that has "predictive and explanatory validity" (Proposal by William Griffith, 1968). Although at least one committee member argued in a position paper that no consensus existed about the central theme in adult education, a science of adult education increasingly became the agreed upon assumption. And administrative theory in education became a model for building such a science (Letter to William Griffith from Roy J. Ingham, 1968).

Another committee, which planned research institutes for CPAE members, reflected a growing faith in the quantitative paradigm. For example, a proposal for a summer institute at the University of Wisconsin-Madison had a primary objective of studying design and statistical skills, with the expertise coming from the Laboratory of Experimental Design, The Department of Statistics and the Department of Educational Psychology (Memorandum from B.W. Kreitlow, 1967).

Other dimensions of the decade fueled the research agenda, and they all fueled each other. Federal involvement, for example, was on the minds of professors of adult education. CPAE leadership not only pushed research proposals, but had a task force on their own role in serving new governmental programs; the leadership also fostered legislation to earmark funding for graduate study and recommended a Presidential Advisory Council on Adult and Continuing Education (Minutes of Annual Meeting of CPAE, 1969).

Tied immediately to federal involvement and research priorities was the growing dimension of consultative service. Commission meetings in 1965 were held in connection with a consultative conference sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, and CPAE leaders developed a Skill Bank while one of its task forces concerned itself with a newly emerged issue: individual consulting vs. public service. (Memorandum to Commission Members from Chairman Knowles)

Permeating these activities of CPAE were increasing connections to other professional organizations. Research connections were made with the American Educational Research Association and the National Seminar on Adult Education Research, and a CPAE federal proposal involved the National Association of Public School Administrators, the Adult Education Association, and the Council of State Directors. Institutionalization of adult education was on the rise, not only at universities, but also within the various professional organizations in which professors of education increasingly associated.

The CPAE meetings reflected not only institutional efforts to develop adult education as a profession, but also a drive for scientific expertise. Sessions such as the following were now on the agenda at Commission conferences: "Wanted Alive: A Body of Literature Unique to Adult Education;" "Competencies of Adult Educators," "What are our Behavioral Objectives?", and "What Evaluation Procedures do We Employ?" (Minutes of Annual Meeting of CPAE, 1968). By then, philosophical issues had taken a back seat and a new driver was strapping into the front seat of adult education.

Contextual Analysis

What forces influenced the shift in epistemological focus of the CPAE meetings from one decade to another? It is easier to see the shift reflected in the archival sources than to capture all the contextual influences that promoted it. Some influences are more apparent than others.

The CPAE records in the mid to late 1960s do reflect two trends in American education during the decade, both sparked by Sputnik and the resulting schooling crisis: 1) federal funding and 2) the quantitative research paradigm. The reciprocal relationship between these two trends and their effects upon adult education epistemology needs to be explored.

Popkewitz (1984) offers an insightful analysis of schooling reform in the 1960s that can be applied to the adult education field. Because of a "drastic transformation since the mid-twentieth century, reform and change have become the prerogative of the professionals who seemingly possess the technical knowledge to control the movement of social affairs."

> [And] there is a belief in science as a means to organize and control social and natural phenomena. This belief emerged strongly in the late 1960s to guide the newly formed initiative of the federal govenment to improve schooling....The professional scientist is to provide 'objective' knowledge to be used by policy-makers. With this assumption of purpose are other paradigmatic commitments, such as seeking universal and formalized knowledge, adopting the notion of social system in which interacting variables can be studied as distinct and independent entities, and the disinterest of science to the goals of the system" (129-33).

Popkewitz goes on to describe a case study in the mid 1960s at the University of Wisconsin-Madison which received one of the U.S. Office of Education research and development grants to set up a Research and Development Center to improve schools. Assumptions of this Center included behavorist definitions of individual knowledge and skills that were clear and measurable, and a science of organization that was to provide a logical framework for objectives and variables required for effective learning. The research methodology came from educational psychologists, and their research procedures led to premises for organizing and administrating schools. The paradigm also met the expectations of federal agencies for accountability through tangible outcomes. The result was that, although school reform involved social and philosophical issues, the technical rhetoric shaped underlying assumptions about knowledge, learning and even social organization.

Besides being influenced by these same contextual forces, adult education, always struggling for its place at universities, tended to follow the lead of those who had more status. Although professors of adult education at the 1950s CPAE meetings expressed concern about the status and security of the field, another decade pushed this concern into a different stage. By the late 1960s, university populations boomed, and increasing numbers of younger faculty, specializing in adult education, started to fill the ranks. The social science research model posed as a viable way not only to gain status but to prove that adult education was a discipline in its own right in the new era of professional specialization.

In addition to these contextual forces, we can not forget that the 1960s were characterized by other dimensions, e.g., the civil rights movement with emphasis on societal equality, and the humanistic education movement with emphasis on individual freedom. Sheats (1970), in his introduction to the Handbook of Adult Education, labeled the adult education controversy in 1970 as that of "community action and problem solving vs. self-actualization." Sheats hoped that those emphasizing self-fulfillment in adult education and those emphasizing social change could find common ground in the 1970s. However, what emerged more than anything was a merger between Behaviorist and Humanistic philosophies, exemplified by the work of Knowles, and reflecting modern individualism in the U.S. By then, the once influential Center for Liberal Adult Education was dead. And connections in adult education between the academic intellectual and social movements was losing ground.

Concluding Perspective

My analysis of the archival records of CPAE points to a shift in epistemological focus in the organization from the 1950s to the 1960s, a shift influenced by federal funding and quantifiable research. This conclusion does not imply that there was consensus among professors of adult education or that philosophical diversity was absent. But it does imply that a shift from intensive debate about philosophical issues to professional concerns about scientific expertise helped shape the dominant assumptions of American adult education in the next decades. I plan to probe this analysis further in at least two ways. One, the primary source data about CPAE from the 1950s and 1960s need expansion through oral history of pertinent participants. Two, the analysis of contextual forces needs to draw upon secondary sources providing further perspectives about the cultural ethos in which CPAE was situated.

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FIVE CONCEPTIONS OF TEACHING

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From interviews of 253 people in Canada, the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Singapore, and the United States, five conceptions of teaching emerged: Engineering--Delivering Content; Apprenticeship--Modeling Ways of Being; Developmental--Cultivating the Intellect; Nurturing--Facilitating Personal Agency; and, Social Reform--Seeking a Better Society. Findings have implications for cross-cultural work, the evaluation of teaching, and the development of teachers.

Introduction

Over the past five years, with the assistance of several graduate students, I have been exploring people's understanding of what teaching means. Most of the time we have inquired of adult educators' understanding of what it means, 'to teach'. At other times we inquired about 'memorable teachers', asking people from all walks of life to talk about someone who has been important in helping them learn. Our work has been an attempt to articulate how the teaching of adults is broadly understood across several societies: The People's Republic of China, Canada, Hong Kong, Singapore, and the United States. This paper is an abbreviated report of those findings.

Subjects, Methodology, and Guiding Frames of Reference

Two hundred fifty-three people from five different countries were interviewed in an attempt to understand their conceptions of teaching. The majority (n=218) were teachers of adults. The remaining thirty-five were adults but not teachers; they were interviewed about their most memorable teachers. Respondents ranged in age from 22 - 56 with an average age of 38 and included more men (n=140) than women (n=113).

The guiding framework for posing questions and interpreting findings consisted of two parts: First, a general model of teaching derived from my experience as a teacher over the past twenty-five years and composed of CONTENT (what was to be learned); LEARNERS (the nature of adult learners and the learning process); TEACHERS (roles, functions, and responsibilities); IDEALS (purposes of adult education); and CONTEXT (external factors that influence teaching and/or learning); and second, an assumption that conceptions of teaching are composed of, and will vary according to, three interdependent aspects: Actions, intentions, and beliefs regarding the elements within the general model.

The research tradition that best suited this inquiry is called phenomenography. (Marton 1981; 1986) As a method for describing qualitatively different ways in which people understand, or conceptualize, an aspect of their world, it moves beyond individual, idiosyncratic understanding of a phenomenon (teaching) to provide a general map of the qualitatively different ways in which the phenomenon is understood. However, in seeking to specify broad categories of conceptions, and the sources of variation amongst them, it does not attempt to explain the antecedents of that variation.

Findings

While each person's understanding of teaching was somewhat idiosyncratic there were underlying commonalities, such that only five substantively different conceptions were found. Each captures the essence of respondents' idiosyncratic understanding while also staying true to the cultural and educational contexts from which they were drawn.

All respondents emphasized at least one element within the general model of teaching, though no one emphasized them all. Thus, each conception is distinctive in at least two ways: First, in terms of which elements and relationships between elements are predominant; and second, in terms of the particular constellation of beliefs, intentions, and actions that characterize that conception. Each will now be discussed in detail.

Engineering Conception: Delivering Content

This conception derives from a particular set of beliefs and intentions but was concerned, in the main, with the content and activities of the teacher. In this sense it was primarily 'teacher centered' with a heavy emphasis on the transmission of information. Teacher expertize and intentionality were primarily associated with accomplished performances, efficient 'coverage' of content, more productive management of time, and/or the development of instructional materials.

Knowledge was believed to be relatively stable and external to the learner and teachers were expected to 'possess' the knowledge that learners needed. Content was to be reduced, broken down, and organized for efficient delivery and testing. There was a substantial commitment to achieving certainty and precision in specifying what people needed to learn, how they could efficiently learn it, and how best to measure that learning. Learning was to be measured in terms of specific competencies and/or the mastery of a body of knowledge. Vagueness, in terms of what was to be learned, was seen as a hindrance to learning and teaching.

Learning was believed to occur in observable and predictable ways that could be made more efficient through systematically controlling the learning environment. It was often expressed in a language of transmission and production, referring to modules, delivery systems, in-put and out-put. As a result, learners tended to be perceived in terms of their competence vis-a-vis the content and goals of instruction and were often objectified, e.g., as the 'target audience'.

It was assumed that entry points for learners may vary, but the exit point was to be similar for all. Learner differences were either reduced to student effort or assumed to have been accommodated through individualized materials and strategies. As a result, learners were understood to be neither problematic nor particularly dynamic elements in the instructional process. The teacher's attention was directed toward the content and the design of instructional materials or techniques. Teachers could design learning materials and procedures that were more-or-less appropriate for all learners.

Respondents holding this as their dominant conception of teaching had either embraced the ideology of their employing agency/institution, or had not considered ideology relevant to the practice of teaching. As a result, teaching was often reduced to finding efficient means to achieve a set of predetermined, nonproblematic ends. Concern was not with learning or knowledge per se, but with the means by which content could be delivered and goals achieved most efficiently.

This conception was voiced within each culture, most often by people working within contexts characterized by well-defined content or skills to be learned and some form of institutional accountability, e.g., government, military, vocational, and private sector training.

Apprenticeship Conception: Modeling Ways Of Being

This conception was based upon a belief that a body of established wisdom and knowledge exists, in the form of expert practitioners, and is to be handed down from those who know, to those who don't know. Such 'experts' in the role of teacher, were expected to introduce novices to the best ideas, values, and methods of practice available.

Teaching was occasionally explained as a way of socializing people into cultural values and ways of knowing, particularly within China, Hong Kong, and in First Nations (American Natives) communities of the Yukon. In China and Hong Kong it was expressed as a duty and obligation, i.e., to be a model of the correct 'moral character' toward society and one's work. Within the Yukon the community elders embodied the collective wisdom of age and experience and others were encouraged to learn from them through listening and observing. More often it was expressed as the modeling of values and ways of functioning within particular groups or roles (e.g., professions and trades). Thus, anyone in the role of 'expert' was a potential teacher and was seen as the embodiment of desired ways of knowing and acting. They were not just the experts but role models whom learners should emulate.

The notion of 'craft knowledge' is appropriate here (e.g., Shulman, 1987), suggesting that the values and knowledge to be taught are embedded in the actions of the practitioner. The nature of that which was to be learned was believed to be inseparable from the actor -- party member, doctor, carpenter, etc. -- and therefore it could not be packaged or developed as instructional materials apart from the person who embodied it. Indeed, it was understood to be inherently problematic for experts, acting as teachers, to try to 'tell' another what they know and how they learned it. Knowledge was to be passed on through role modeling, as mentor, coach, advisor, elder, or co-traveler. Thus, 'teaching' was framed in terms of values and forms of knowing that were highly contextual and assumed necessary for membership in a group or for a particular role.

Learning was understood to be contextual, i.e., something that happened within the context of practice. Classroom instruction was seldom mentioned, perhaps because it was understood to be a more contrived environment, not the kind of setting where practice and knowledge come together as one in the person of the expert or respected practitioner. As a result, this conception was most often voiced by people operating outside formal educational settings, e.g., within professional mentor relationships, vocational apprenticeships, and medical internships.

Developmental Conception: Cultivating The Intellect

Central to this conception was a belief in the existence and potential emergence of increasingly complex forms of thought as individuals developed. People described a variety of paths, e.g., developmental stages, cognitive styles, forms of reasoning, but in effect assumed a cognitive potential which could be 'developed' through teaching. They espoused a view of knowledge and human potential that placed high regard on individual differences. Learners were perceived as dynamic elements with variations in prior knowledge and intellectual potential, and it was the teacher's job to start with the former and promote the latter.

There was a strong belief that what a person already knows and how s/he thinks about something will significantly influence learning. Therefore, it was the teacher's responsibility to identify forms and thresholds of understanding and thinking as the starting point for teaching. Changing people's understanding and thinking meant inducing a certain amount of disequilibrium or discomfort with their present ways of knowing. The intent was to stimulate curiosity and a desire to inquire further, while also encouraging learners to try new ways of thinking about familiar issues and content.

For some respondents the goal was to prepare people to deal with unpredictable and complex situations. Their role, as teacher, was to move the person toward the next higher stage or level of thought by presenting problems that challenged the learner to go beyond present ways of thinking and problem solving. The focus was on the learning process per se with content as the vehicle by which teachers could help people learn how to learn and achieve higher levels of thinking. It was believed that knowledge is personally constructed and that learning is an on-going process of reflection that continues well beyond the temporal and geographic boundaries of formal education. However, there was little concern about the broader social context within which learning occurred; emphasis was on the individual, not the collective.

Some teachers saw themselves as co-travelers and inquirers on an intellectual journey, acting as guide more often than expert. Several ancillary beliefs supported this 'journey' metaphor, e.g., that teachers were to be learners along with their students; that the process of inquiring was just as important as the answers; and, that there was usually more than one acceptable answer to a complex problem. Their intention was to provide a learning environment that would help people develop, intellectually, toward greater autonomy as learners.

This conception was most visible within formal, higher, and continuing education in Canada and the U.S. Unlike any other conception, it was absent from our interviews within the People's Republic of China.

Nurturing Conception: Facilitating Personal Agency

Within this conception there was the emergence of an ethical stance that was derived from a sense of caring and interpersonal regard for the welfare of another, rather than from a sense of duty or obligation (as with the Apprentice Conception). It was descriptive of a way of relating where genuine regard for the other person and a concern for the relationship bound the two together. There was no reference to moral duty or obligation. Instead, there was reference to friendship, caring, emotional support, and personal relationships. Yet, the relationship between teacher and learner was not necessarily permissive. As one person spoke about his former teacher he talked at length about the fact his teacher believed in him and cared about him, but that she also set high standards and didn't let him 'get away with anything'. This was a common theme – the striving for a balance between caring and challenging, supporting and directing.

In Canada and the United States this conception was avowedly humanistic, saturated with the values of individualism and existential psychology, and often expressed as a concern to help people overcome the effects of previous experience that may have diminished their concept of self as learner and dignity as a person. Within China, Hong Kong, and Singapore it was more familial, an extension of an ethical stance and cultural tradition that had great regard for loyalty and filial piety, expressed in terms of friendship and concern for the personal well-being of students. Within each culture it seemed to contain a strong concern for fidelity to the person and the relationship between teacher and learner.

Particularly within the U.S. and Canada there was an emphasis on the personal relevance of information and learning. Learning was to be self-initiated, personally involving, and evaluated by the learner. Private knowledge, that which had been personally constructed and related to self, was to be stressed over more public knowledge.

Consequently, teachers worked toward a climate of cooperation as well as independence. Negotiation became an important activity as teachers 'contracted' with learners to specify what must be accomplished. Several adult educators expressed the desire for their students to learn to evaluate their own goals as well as their work. These respondents felt strongly that students must be involved in setting out the purposes and procedures that would guide their learning.

In each case the process of teaching was guided by a primary concern for the worth and dignity of each individual. All learning was believed to be facilitated by a relationship of mutual trust, rightful dignity, and reciprocal respect. No goal (e.g., attaining a high school equivalency certificate) was allowed to become detached and pursued merely for its own sake, especially if it jeopardized the learner's self-concept. As a result, some teachers were quite clear in stating that students need not love their subject to still be accepted as worthy and dignified people. Significant learning was not associated with content or higher forms of cognition, but with the enhancement of self-concept and personal agency.

This was found within all five cultures. However, it was most evident in formal educational contexts of the U.S. and Canada where adult educators referred to themselves in 'andragogical' terms (e.g., as facilitators rather than teachers) and amongst teachers and students in adult basic education, self-help groups, and literacy programs.

Social Reform Conception: Seeking A Better Society

This conception was distinctive for the presence of an explicitly stated 'ideal' or set of principles which were linked to a vision of a better social order and guided the person's teaching. Each ideal was based on a particular system of beliefs, usually derived from an ethical code (e.g., the sanctity of human rights), a religious doctrine (e.g., fulfilling God's law), or a political ideology (e.g., the redistribution of political power). The teaching process was framed from within a conviction that this ideal was appropriate for all and necessary for a better society.

No single ideology dominated this conception. Instead, there were multiple views of knowledge, learners, self, and content, depending upon the particular ideal. For example, one individual from Singapore expressed a strong religious conviction which anchored his conception of teaching. From his perspective, knowledge was derived from God's law. 'Truth' was knowable and relatively constant across time and circumstance. In a different case, within China, an individual spoke of how he was guided by the Communist Party's teachings regarding obedience to authority and the need to maintain harmony and order in society. He spoke of these as 'first principles' which were necessary for China and for himself. In another case, a woman teaching other women in a work re-entry program expressed a feminist perspective wherein knowledge and authority were socially constructed and relative, and, as part of the learning process, were to be challenged.

The dominance of such explicit ideals over-shadowed all other elements within the general model of teaching. Emphasis was on social, cultural, political, or moral imperatives that determined, to a great extent, how each of the elements and relationships in the general model of teaching were to be understood. Of course, every conception of teaching is an expression of a particular ideology, albeit at varying levels of awareness and usually unstated. However, within this conception the ideology was explicit and occupied center-stage; it had emerged from an ambiguous and covert position of influence to become a clear and foremost element in the person's thinking about teaching.

As a result, the focus shifted from micro to macro concerns, from finding better technologies of instruction, ways of knowing, and means of facilitating cognitive or personal development to issues of a moral or political nature. Actors and content were secondary to a broader agenda and there was a shift in emphasis from the individual to the collective. Their particular 'ideal' was the basis for reasoning and a guide to judgment; it was the figure and all else the ground.

Although the nature of the 'ideal' varied, this conception of teaching was evident within all five cultures. Its emergence was more a function of the individual than either the cultural or educational context.

Discussion

These findings, though tentative and in need of further elaboration, illuminate several issues related to teaching adults in general, and cross-cultural teaching in particular. First, based on several years of experience working within the five cultures of this study, it is clear that learners experience more than the mechanics of teaching activities, i.e., the roles, rules, and procedures of teaching methods. They also experience the teacher's ideas and judgment as to which information will be examined, what sources will be respected, and whose frames of reference will guide the emergence of knowledge. In short, learners experience all aspects of a teacher's conceptions of teaching, i.e., their beliefs and intentions as well as their actions. What is learned will be determined as much by those beliefs and intentions as by the activities used.

Second, though qualitatively different, the five conceptions are not mutually exclusive. Thus, although no one held all five, most held two or three, one of which was usually more dominant than the others. The mix of conceptions that people held was usually related to their belief structure and educational context. For example, in China there was very little reference to any of the underlying beliefs and intentions associated with the Developmental conception. There was almost no mention of working toward higher levels of thinking. Individuals were seldom the focal point; when they were it was as a member of a group or collective, e.g., the family, work unit, or society. Individual differences were usually defined in terms of effort or study habits; never in terms of cognitive development. Alternatively, in Canada and the United States the individual was often the center piece of people's dominant conception of teaching, alternating between intellectual development and the enhancement of self-concept. This is consistent with other research comparing Chinese and Western conceptions of 'self'. (e.g., Hsu, 1985; Pratt, 1991; Triandis, 1989)

Third, conceptions of teaching are dynamic; that is, they are evolving with experience that either confirms or challenges present thinking and beliefs. Thus, efforts to improve teaching may focus on the refinement of existing conceptions and practices or may attempt to change those conceptions. The former is more common; the latter more difficult. When adult educators undergo a dramatic shift in their conceptions of teaching they experience a change in their belief structure. This type of change can be developmental. However, as with any significant transformation in perspective, it can also be accompanied by uncertainty, adversity, and resistance. (Mezirow & Associates, 1990)

Finally, it would be wrong to conclude that some conceptions are better than others. Each has philosophical and epistemological roots which are consonant with particular people, purposes, and contexts. Indeed, it is entirely consistent with these findings to expect that 'exemplary' teachers can be found for each of the conceptual categories, as long as judgments of quality have regard for the internal consistency between actions, intentions, and beliefs and the contexts within which individuals are operating.

The challenges for adult educators, whether working in one's home culture or across cultures, are to: First, clarify our own conceptions of teaching and the particular beliefs and intentions that we take for granted but which anchor those conceptions; second, place ourselves in the institutional, cultural, political, and/or social contexts of those with whom we are working and try to understand their conceptions of teaching and the underlying belief structure; third, see our own conceptions as problematic and in potential conflict with the actions, intentions, and beliefs of those with whom we work; and fourth, attempt to understand conceptions other than our own, and the ways in which those conceptions of teaching make sense for others and may provide growth for us.

Fourth, it would be easy to associate specific methods and techniques with particular conceptions of teaching, e.g., lecturing with the Engineering conception or discussion groups with the Nurturing conception. Our findings do not support this. A specific technique, e.g., lecturing, may be used by people holding any combination of conceptions. It was not unique to, nor necessarily preferred by, people expressing particular conceptions.

NOTE: Supplementary materials not included in these Proceedings were distributed at the oral presentation, including information about methodology, guiding frames of reference, data analysis and references. These are available from the author.

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RESISTANCE, RELUCTANCE, AND PERSISTANCE: SCHOOLING AND ITS EFFECT ON ADULT LITERACY PARTICIPATION

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Three studies of resisters to literacy and reluctant learners who leave ABE in the first 2-3 weeks are discussed. Early schooling appeared as a factor in the first study and is closely followed in the next two. Findings suggest "schooling" is a major influence among the complex variables affecting the decision to participate or not to participate in literacy programs.

The Issue and the Literature

A longitudinal study of 18,000 students in 1,200 high schools by Cervero & Kirkpatrick (1990) concluded: "Schooling provides a powerful set of social circumstances that . . . shape the individual" (p. 92). Adding: "Governmental policymakers who offer programs such as adult basic eduction and job retraining need to recognize that participation in these programs is not simply a matter of individual choice . . . .These officials, educators, and other researchers must better understand the long-standing and enduring nature of the factors in which a decision to participate is embedded before they decry the low participation rates in these programs. But these factors must be recognized before they can be acted upon" (p. 92). "Long-standing and enduring nature" was researched by Beder (1989) in Iowa, finding that dislike for school accounted for the greatest amount of variance among non-participants. School as "shaper of individuals" was studied, in part, by Fingeret (1985) in North Carolina: "Data . . . suggest that schooling was alienating for a number of reasons, foremost among them the inability of the culture and structure of schools to respond to the concerns, pressures and life experiences of individual students" (1985, p. 54). Again, the negative effects of schooling surfaced in Baldwin's (1991) national GED data on 7,800 adults. It also accounted for over two-thirds of the response among 3,600 adults on why they had not completed school in their youth (Kirsch & Junglebut, 1986). These U.S.-based studies parallel ethnographic studies by Willis (1977) in the U.K. which identified resistance to schooling as a cultural and sociological phenomenon--the demonstration of agency against reproduction.

Thus, this line of research brings culture, gender, and ethnic factors into the discussion of non-participation in literacy. It pushes the field beyond "choice-or-circumstance" paradigms with "purely psychological" (Fingeret, p. 54) explanations based on situational, or institutional deterrents. It also carries many policy implications: "For those non-participants who are resisters, school based approaches to adult literacy are not likey to work, and, if we are to reach them, new approaches to adult literacy education must be found" (Beder, 1991). First, however, as Giroux argues, "What is most important is the willingness of radical educators to search for the emancipatory interests that underlie resistance and to make them visible to students and to others so that they can become objects of debate and political analysis" (1983, p. 292). The three studies discussed here attempt to "make visible" past schooling influences which evidently contribute to resistance and reluctance to literacy.

Study #1: The Nature of Resistance

The first study (Quigley, 1990), conducted in 1986, investigated the nature of schooling and resistance to literacy-as-schooling as seen through the eyes of resisters in fictional literature. A theory building investigation, this study used novels and short stories as a data source and phenomenology as its method. Schooling was: "A traditional set of teaching programs in an institutional setting founded on pedagogical teaching processes, advocating norms of the middle-class dominant culture" (p. 19). The study suggested resisters were not resisting habitat (Bourdieu, 1977) of objectified knowledge (history); rather, they fervently resisted the habitus or "matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 83) in the dominant culture and as advocated by schools they found themselves in. Whether in a high school, college, or university setting, resisters experienced overt and covert restraint on their sense of liberty and "outside" habitus. Males and females alike experienced: "A feeling of revulsion at the infringement of their rights and a complete and spontaneous loyalty to certain aspects of himself. Thus he [/she] implicitly brings into play a standard of values so far from being gratutitous that he [/she] is prepared to support it no matter what the risks" (Camus, 1977, p. 14).

For these resisters, quitting school became a statement of independence and a moral-political victory. As a process of liberation and critical analysis, resistance followed certain steps: Observing school, comparing it to an outside world, challenging schooling norms, breaking away from school, controlling one's destiny, and, for some, accepting/reconciling with those left behind in school. Beneath these steps, stages of growing awareness of oppression emerged: 1) not knowing I do not have a specific liberty, 2) knowing that I do not have a specific liberty, 3) knowing that I possess this specific liberty, 4) actually having it and holding it, and, for some, 5) accepting myself as having this liberty/accepting others not having it. The cultural/economic/political reproduction they saw in school was resisted with degrees of visibility.

The nature of schooling itself was phenomenologically investigated and redefined as,"the interpretation of a physical environment emodying both habitat and habitus. The habitus can be culturally, politically, morally or emotionally unacceptable to the resisters. The habitat of lessons can be acceptable if relevant" (Quigley, 1987, p. 241). Resistance was redefined as: "A struggle to become free in the eyes, mind and heart of the resister on the basis of a specific liberty which must be attained and held at any cost" (Quigley, p. 241). As a theory and a process, this first study suggested that, for some non-participants, resistance "has little to do with deviance and learned helplessness, but a great deal to do with moral and political indignation" (Giroux, p. 289). The next two studies refined certain aspects of this study.

Study #2: Resistance to Literacy and Schooling

The above framework was applied to adult non-particpants in Pittsburgh, PA in 1989. In-depth interviews were conducted by two interviewers--one Black female, one Black male--with 20 adults (12 female, 8 male). Subjects were of two ethnicities (18 Black, 2 White); mean age was 34.35 (18 yrs.- 57 yrs.). All had left school around grade 10 (years out, M= 16.88) and all had lived in the city for most of their lives. Subjects were divided among those from the city at large and those in a housing project. The first group was identified with the help of participants in two major ABE programs; the second through the contacts of one interviewer and the housing project network. Interview schedules had input from academics/literacy practitioner expert panels both before and after piloting the semi-structured interview instrument. Interviews were audio-taped, fully transcribed, and data analyzed by scisssors and sort content analysis. Interviews lasted from 1-3 hours. Each subject was fully aware that ABE/literacy programs were available, where they were, and that each knew she/he would probably qualify to participate. However, none was willing to enrol (Quigley, in press). Beneath situational/institutional problems lay a resistance to literacy as either unacceptable or irrelevant.

Language in the interviews was revealing. Asked if they had continued to learn since leaving school (e.g. acquiring job skills, raising children), all replied they had continued to learn. Asked if education was important for their peers, family, and children, they gave an unhesitating: "Without question" (Donna); asked if education was important for themselves, invariably, "Yes." But, asked if they would go to the local ABE program, less than half replied they, "Should go back to school." Others simply said "No." None could seriously picture herself/himself back in that setting. Although the term "school" was avoided by the interviewers, the subjects responded to ABE/literacy as school--an unacceptable or irrelevant construct. As a secondary outcome, despite literature which argues that generational values are passed inexorably to the next generation, this study found the exact opposite. Subjects were adamant that: "I don't like the idea of them [my children] to have to go through what I have gone through" (Gayle). If social, cultural factors are used as a mere background to an individualistic choice-or-circumstance ideology, literacy non-participation becomes "de-sociologized" and simplistic.

Refining the earlier study, and challenging much of the New Sociology of Education on resistance, subjects were found to fall into "resister types":

1 Personal/Emotive Resisters: As Fingeret (1985) found in North Carolina, many in literacy recalled "The experience of being alienated from the culture of the school as a result of some combination of personal attributes, family circumstances and the

existing school norms and structures" (p. 51). In this study, category #1 clearly had been alienated in school and now looked back in sorrow more than anger. This group lived with a deep sense of personal injury--teachers and peers being most frequently named. School was recalled in micro-terms, as individuals and a context of personal trauma. Each believed theirs was a unique experience. They blamed others and themselves with a sense of consuming loss. One subject (Karen) spoke of a teacher who "made a lack of confidence in myself, just destroying me personally. He made me hate school . . . . I was just another Black person and Black people wouldn't go far and especially Black women and I felt so much anger and hate for that man until I lashed out at him. I know now I was wrong for letting him make me angry." Never more than two teacher's names could be remembered, and those with deep affection. Most said they did not "fit" in. Males and females were often involved in fights; some stated (with mixed emotions) they ran with the "wrong crowd."

Beyond trauma, this group felt it had largely been academically ignored in the classroom and, typically, had been bored with school. They assumed local adult programs would be an unacceptable repeat of schooling. Insofar as they all said they valued education, they were asked what would be needed for them to return to an adult program. The response was framed in the need for trust: Teachers who would "treat me like a human being, a grown man" (Walter); "[I have to feel able to] come to them and talk to them and express myself without feeling guilty or dumb" [Ron]. Thus, in addition to issues of access, child care--issues raised by most adult students--small classrooms, sensitive teachers with an appreciation of their world and values, and a trusting environment were points raised for recommendation. Subject content was not an issue here.

2 Ideological/Cultural Resisters: This group appeared as the New Sociology of Education, and Study #1, might portray resisters--recalling school as akin to jail. School was recalled in structural terms, as a system, as power--or the lack of it--and the abuses of power. This angry sub-group was supportive to the resisters studied by Willis (1977) and Fine (1982). Experiencing a culture clash with dominant norms, school was an insult as much as an injury: "It didn't teach me nothing about my culture, it didn't teach me nothing about my ancestors. It taught me a philosophy of another man's society" (Charles). One subject believed the local ABE program was "For White men" (Timothy). Another (Charles) asked, "Don't they [ABE programs] get grants, government funded? Well, the only reason they have these things, they're going to make all Black people mechanics, all Black people body and fender men . . . they want us all to be just fender and body men, tire changers, gas pumpers, clean'n up this house, that house...it's garbage." Racism was not the only issue. For White subjects, authority abuse was cited. One White student was moved to another school because her parents had moved a few blocks, thus were suddently in a new school district: "I hated the new school and quit after three months. Who gave them the authority to ruin my education?" (Kay). To ever return to adult programs, this category expressed the need for the program to have, "Something to do with my life" (Donna). On-going input to content, delivery, and evaluation

would be key for success; it was concluded most traditional programs would fail.

3 Age-Based Resisters: Non-participants over 50 responded to questions of education with a sense of reflection, even nostalgia. But, for these non-participants, education was simply irrelevant at this point in their lives. This sub-group was, to varying degrees, resigned to circumstances: "I'm never going to go any place else or do anything else because I didn't make it , I didn't get that paper" (Anna). Most deferred to their children/grandchildren in this context: "I will push my daughter . . . and my youngest son. I tried to push my oldest son to finish school" (Melanee). For this group, palpable relevance would be required for any to return. Nostalgic, but not going back.

Study #3: Reluctance and Attrition

If previous schooling played such a major part in the formation of attitudes towards programs, the question was asked if certain students entered ABE with reluctance--suspicious, skeptical, that ABE would recreate that which had helped push them out of school (Quigley, 1991). Here, reluctant learners (RLs) were compared with persisters (Ps). Two major Pittsburgh ABE centers were involved. Using the expectancy-valence theory of motivation (Van Tilburg, 1990; Vroom, 1964), 37 ABE students were in-depth interviewed--17 RLs and 20 Ps--as identified by counsellors/teachers. Namely, Ps who had engaged satisfactorily for six months or more and RLs who had left within the first three weeks for "non-compliance": e.g., aloof, withdrawn, disengaged, "lack of motivation." Expectancy of 1) Personal success and, 2) expectancy that ABE would be basically the same as earlier school was compared (post hoc) by investigating perceptions before and after entering ABE of both groups. The valence of both groups was compared as belief levels that education through ABE would meet their personal needs both upon entry and after quitting/persisting. Interviewers (1 Black male, 1 White female) were well trained; semi-structured interviews of 1-3 hours were conducted at neutral sites with RLs, at ABE centers with Ps. Tape-recorded interviews were fully transcribed; responses were weighted and coded. Data were anayzed using ANOVA and Chi square descriptive statistics (.05 significance level). The population consisted of 73% Blacks, 64.9% females; the majority (27%) was in the 28-33 year age bracket with younger RLs (21.62%=16-21 yrs.) than Ps (18.92%=28-33 yrs.). The mean for school grade attained was 8.7 for Ps; 9.4 for RLs. Years out of school was M=25 yrs. for Ps; M=12.4 for RLs.

Asked about earlier schooling, interestingly, the comparatively young RLs were slightly more comfortable than Ps back in school and felt a slightly higher sense of significance in school than Ps. RLs were almost the same as Ps when asked if they liked their teachers and similar when asked about relevance of school subjects. Little difference appeared between the groups on earlier grades earned but, approaching significance, RLs felt they had not received adequate attention from their school teachers--a pattern repeated in ABE. Showing significance (p=.0126), RLs felt they received adequate attention from counsellors; Ps clearly did not need the help of counsellors--another pattern repeated in ABE. Also repeated, RLs had fewer friends than Ps back in school: RLs almost 65% had 1-7 friends in school; Ps 65% had 8 and 15+ friends. Interestingly, 45% of Ps received support from no one in school except "self." These (younger) RLs found support in almost equal distribution among friends and self, and twice as much from their mothers. Whether by choice or default, RLs were "loners" with a few close friends--repeated in ABE. RLs were not part of the dominant norms or mainstream peer groups. They were less accepting of school and what it represented but dropped out with a high valence in education. Asked what they thought of the schooling system now, some RLs felt wounded by schooling: "They need to just be more caring . . . . They always say, 'Education is important.' Why would they put me through hell then?" (Thelma). Others blamed the system itself (possibly an early indication of the two groups in Study #2?). Significantly, RLs gave a slightly higher perceived value to education after quitting school than Ps on a chi square comparison and apparently RLs left school committed to education more than Ps. They returned to ABE with a high valence going in that ABE would be more like school and had little doubt in their ability to succeed--both expectancies higher than Ps. RLs entered more "field independent" than Ps, less interested in socializing and were (quietly) insistent that ABE be more challenging than school. Aloof, they never turned to teachers; instead, RLs turned to counsellors (47.06%, not one turned to teachers). RLs felt subjects were less relevant than Ps (p=.0137) and quickly grew disenchanted or bored: "Most of the stuff he was teaching I already knew" (Melinda). Overall, RLs wanted more attention. (Gail) quit ABE and went to a tutoring program: "I learned more from literacy in two to three months than I did in the two and a half years I been coming to ABE."

Rather than having "lost the last gamble on education," upon quitting ABE, RLs overwhelmingly said they valued education and most were already pursuing it through one-on-one literacy programs. The expectancy that ABE would be just like school had diminished--it was not as much like school as they had hoped. Their expectancy to succeed remained strong. Their valence in education actually increased: 65% valued education as "very important" after quitting school, 80.1% said "very important." after ABE. Seventy-three percent said they would go back to ABE if asked. This is a different picture than typically painted of ABE dropouts as unmotivated, slow learners, caught in a chaotic, dependant lifestyle. With such high valence and self-expectancy, recommendations for ABE programs included: Improving the first 2-3 program week, especially the first-point-of-contact (counsellors/intake teachers) where more information about past schooling experiences and of past friends, teachers, counsellors, relevance/challenge of subjects, support is needed. A clearer picture of learner expectancy of program and ability to succeed might inform a team teaching/counselling approach. Age was evidently more important than gender or ethnicity here as there were more younger RLs than Ps from the beginning. Thus, younger students may be more liable to leave as RLs than older students. Finally, prospective RLs may need more personal challenge than they themselves request. One-on-one tutoring may be useful but counsellor follow-up is needed throughout. The apparently field independent RL will rarely be interested in social aspects of the program. Thus, the more aloof and less engaged RL may hold higher valence and higher self expectancy of the program and self; but since he/she is less "visible," it is easy to overlook the high potential this student may bring.

Conclusion

Based on these three studies, it is evident that those who choose to participate and those who resist are similar in their stated valuing of education, but different in their perceptions of what ABE/literacy is and what programs promise to achieve. The decision to participate in literacy needs to be seen through the kaleidescope of sociological influences, not the least of which is the impact of past schooling. We need a clearer understanding of why so many quit dissatisfied with school but retain a high valence in education, and how some return expecting literacy to be more than school while others return to accept whatever it offers. We need to know why still others quit school with high valence but choose to resist literacy--wanting education for their family but refusing literacy for themselves. Thus, further research is needed to respond more effectively to the expectations of those willing to enter and to reveal more clearly sociological dimensions of "school" seen as unacceptable.

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AFRICAN-AMERICAN STRATEGIES OF SUCCESSFUL ADAPTATION IN RESPONSE TO DISEDUCATION: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

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The purpose of this research was to investigate the observed behaviors of successful, professional African-Americans who appeared to be in control of their lives and had the ability to critically analyze life events. How did they become empowered? Where did they learn this critical stance on life? Did uncritically accepted learning-to-learn concepts in adult education apply to African-American adults?

Theoretical Framework

Affective and cognitive systems are developed in response to demands of life situations. For African-Americans the pressure is greater since survival is at issue. The African-American culture teaches an Afrocentric way of living and thinking thus developing an Afrocentric eye. When children enter school, they are forced to develop and continually use an Eurocentric eye. Accordingly, African-Americans' experiences prepare them to adapt to the duality of being both an African and an European-American within a largely Eurocentric culture. The experiences influence the development of a unique pattern of learning and a critical disposition or consciousness that promotes strategies fostering radical empowerment. Afrocentricity is defined as an orientation to life (Asante, 1987; 1988). It has been defined as felt experience at the deepest level of psychic experience, as a total involvement in experience, and as a spiritualistic transcendence in experience (Baldwin, 1981). If these strategies are not learned, diseducation results.

Woodson's (1933) reference to the miseducation of the Negro referred to content; diseducation refers to process. Diseducation is the disassociation of the knower from what is known, from their natural reasoning and learning processes and the ways of knowing that African-Americans possess when they enter formal educational situations. The African-American preferred way of learning is simultaneous, holistic, and relational in nature whereas the European American preferred way of learning is successive, analytical and linear (Cohen, 1969; Hale-Benson, 1987; Shade, 1982).

The structure of a person's existing knowledge is regarded as the crucial factor influencing new learning, retention, and problem-solving (Ausubel 1963). Only so far is it possible to "enhance the organizational strength is it possible to enhance the functional retention of new subject matter, both as an end in itself and for purposes of problem-solving" (p.76). But in diseducation, persons are distanced or disassociated from their preferred patterns of knowledge structures creating problems. My research seeks to answer how some African-Americans avoid this diseducation and succeed in spite of the system.

Methods

First, a phenomenological approach was used to investigate the phenomena of African-American patterns of learning and resulting learning to-learn-to-live strategies. Phenominological methodology allowed interviews of 20 successful African-Americans exhibiting empowering behavior to provide accumulated awarenesses so that themes could be elicited from their interpretations. Second, a critical analysis of the literature on adult and psychological learning theories and Afrocentric philosophy was conducted.

Results

My research identifies LENS (Learning Everyday Negotiating Strategies). LENS builds on Miller's (1914) binocular vision and DuBois's (1903) double consciousness. This formulation comes directly from the interviews. It accurately reflects how these African-Americans learned everyday negotiating strategies to survive. LENS reflects African-American's dual vision which comes from operating with two ways of knowing--an African-American and an European-American within a largely Eurocentric culture. LENS serves as the perceptual filter through which our world is viewed and structured. LENS allows for the adjustment to bring into focus the reality of both worlds in which we live operating as both a part of, yet apart from the mainstream culture.

This dualism provides a keen awareness that permits us to examine, evaluate, and interpret situations critically and quickly. The constant shifting between the two cultures creates a shrewd sense of skill and precision in perceiving the two worlds in-depth, both singly and jointly. Many times it becomes critical that African-Americans hold and utilize the two worldviews-African-American and European-American. At that moment, African-Americans must be able to accurately, in computer terms, switch windows. That is having two documents in full view simultaneously, reading the two documents to form yet a new document. Or it may be that it is only the acceptance that the two pieces of information coexist. LENS allows us to adjust the tension or contradictions between the two visions. To the degree that one lives in an overtly and covertly racist and oppressive system, most African-Americans will have developed LENS.

Patterns of Learning

Three themes which emerged from the interview data: (1)learning with the whole mind, (2) living the experience through experiential learning, and (3) creativity through transcendence. African-Americans' two ways of knowing may account for these patterns. The learning-to-learn concept was found not to explain the phenomena. Findings of this study did support a learning-to-learn-to-live concept which explained the strategies African-Americans must develop if they are to be successful in a Eurocentric environment.

Learning with the whole mind is the fusion of, or bringing together of, the affective, experiential and cognitive elements in the learning process. This fusion is especially congruent with characteristics of the African-American culture. The concept of learning with the whole mind indicates that African-Americans use affective and cognitive domains complementarily in learning episodes.

Hunt (1974) proposed that the African-American's way of knowing encompasses neither the elevation of the cognitive nor the affective but the recognition and acceptance of the strengths of both domains. What is being affirmed is that the basic definition of African-American culture and behavior is rooted in traditional West African culture. For example, Dixon (1976) described the way African-Americans think in the following way:

> [African-Americans] know reality predominantly through the interaction of affect and symbolic imagery . . . Affect refers to the feeling self, the emotive

> self engaged in experiencing phenomena holistically . . . Affect personalizes the phenomenal world. It is one factor in the Africanized mode of knowing. Affect, however, is not intuition, for the latter term means direct or immediate knowledge (instinctive knowledge). Affective is not regarded here as irrational or intuitive without resource or inference from or reasoning about evidence. Affect does interact with evidence, evidence in the form of symbolic imagery. (p. 70)

Learning with the whole mind is "learning of a unified sort, at the cognitive, feeling and gut level, with a clear awareness of the different aspects of this unified learning" (Rogers, 1974, p. 104). It is education of the self or self-knowledge. "Self-knowledge includes recognizing personal patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting, considering both the payoffs and negative consequences, experimenting with alternatives, and evaluating the results" (Brown, 1976, p. 19).

Self-knowledge happens through individuals' awareness of themselves and their environment. Awareness is a first step in responding to the environment, the second step is personal growth. Learning with the whole mind is holism. Holism aims to develop the whole person and actualize the individual emotionally, intellectually, physically and spiritually.

The second theme was living the experience through experiential learning. Living the whole experience is the holistic, active engagement which incorporates both abstract and concrete experiences in all facets of learning. Learning is lived experience through experiential learning. Living the experience is characterized as an experience that is lived through both preconscious and conscious action. It involves the active holistic engagement of the whole mind which uses intuitive, affective and cognitive abilities. Living the experience fosters a divergent notion of action inquiry. It is reflective action which scrutinizes experience against self and other sources in order to remove distortions or flaws from the learning experiences. It allows for the interaction of the untouched boundaries of one's self and the experience that one is living through.

This second theme had three sub themes: mother wit (learning), direct experience and reflection. Learning is grounded in "mother wit" and described as a contextualized, practical understanding of the subject at hand and its relation to the individual self and the world. Direct experience acknowledges and prefers previous experience of the individual and the direct experience of others as legitimate knowledge. In the African-American culture, there is no substitute for actual experience gained in the course of living. The natural facts, eternal truths, wisdom of the ages and basic percepts of survival emerge from the experiences of life. African-Americans measure knowledge and decision-making against their own self-knowledge. This analysis is in line with Rogers (1969) and Kolb 1984).

The third theme elicited was creativity through transcendence. Creativity through transcendence is characterized as a process of perceptual reorganization.

Spirituality and Black aesthetics both characterize and shape the creative product and process of creativity through transcendence. Three sub themes which emerged were intuition, spiritual pre-conscious and self reflection. Transcendence is relevant for African-Americans because it has been identified as one of the styles of responding to and manipulating their reality which has its roots in African beingness.

Transcendental experience is characterized as a (l) heightened sense of clarity and understanding, (2) altered perception of space and time, (3) appreciation of the holistic, unitive, integrated nature of the universe and one's unity with it; and (4) intense positive affect including a sense of perfection of the universe (Vaughn, 1980, p. 45). This is accomplished through increased awareness of one's critical thoughts, punitive feelings, and rigid preconceptions.

Intuition is "knowledge based on experience acquired through the senses" (Berne, 1977). The general idea of transcendence is moving beyond or rising above the pre-determined limits or conditions of an experience or situation. It is an uncanny sense of wholeness, pattern seeing and synthesis. It is both rational and intuitive. Data and logic are increased and embellished by hunches, feelings, insights and a nonlinear sense of patterning. It is a way to see beyond the surface structure of the experience to create new insights, new ideas which will provide new possibilities and new explanations for old problems. It is the ability to challenge old structures and raise issues that were once thought to be impossible. It is engaging in mental metamorphosis or reorganization or restructuring of existing mental structures to create new meaning. It is the ability to see the infinite relationships between totally unrelated information and make a fit that makes sense once conceived. It is a way of assembling a seemingly hodgepodge of clues and themes to make an invention that will create knowledge or new tools for creating new knowledge. It is a way of fusing the impossible with the possible and creating a revolutionary idea.

Learning-to-Learn-to-Live

The learning-to-learn concept has recently become a standard concept proposed in adult learning. This process is said to be as important as content in a rapidly changing information rich environment. The research on learning-to-learn has been one of technique and as such, appeals to objectivity as being equally applicable to all. Learning-to-learn is critiqued in this research because it lacks content and does not explain the development of critical consciousness for African-Americans. The learning-to-learn concept was rejected for Africa~ A,mericans and a learning-to-learn-to-live concept was offered to explain the strategies African-Americans must develop if they are to be successful in a Eurocentric environment. Learning-to-learn-to-live is required for African-Americans to make sense of the world. It is conceptualized with direct application for purpose and relevance and is value driven from actual life experiences.

The learning-to-learn-to-live theory consists of the following components: (1) practical, goal-oriented inquiry (cognition grounded with African-American values), (2) experiential encounter or hermeneutical understanding with all experiences (action for the critical development of understanding and commitment), and (3) development of independence and interdependence (development of self in order to have the largeness that enables one to see greater importance than oneself and become a part of the collective group).

Moving through these components/creates a dialectical process that includes introspection, retrospection, self-reflection and invention of new knowledge. There is a reframing of old knowledge and a critique of self knowledge to judge if there are distortions in the personal judgments to form new knowledge. Accordingly, learning-to-learn-to-live is defined here as one's common sense tracer or tracker that actively, intuitively, preconsciously, and cognitively guides, one simultaneously, step-by-step and holistically, through the process one takes in determining the patterns of relevant connections and in attaching meaning to one's life experiences.

Moreover, this common sense tracker permits individuals: to critically examine personal perceptions, conceptions and meanings; to dig to the core of knowledge gained from experience and question why; to avoid the problem of acceptance without comparing and analyzing the reasons that affect their individual lives; to gain awareness of hidden meanings and agendas that are found in their daily paths; and to make rational choices which are beneficial to their own causes.

Learning-to-learn-to-live in the African-American community reflects a holistic view of learning that incorporates the affective and cognitive domain in learning. Learning is grounded in the value-driven, purposeful situations of African-American life. Learning-to-learn-to-live is a radical process of Black survival. Learning-to-learn-to-live is viewed through the LENS.

Educational Importance to the Research

This research adds to the literature on adult learning-to-learn theory. It adds to the literature on African-American adult education.' Past literature on African-American patterns of learning perpetuates the deficit models. This research transcends those stereotypical paradigms and focuses on the rich successful strategies present in the African-American community.

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CHINESE WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT KNOWLEDGE

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This study is to promote communication between Chinese adult learners and Western educators in the cross-cultural exchange of knowledge by examining literature on how knowledge is conceptualized by the Chinese people. Meanings ascribed to knowledge by them are drawn and their implications are discussed.

Canada has been hosting a growing number of students from China since 1979. According to Statistics Canada (1988, 1989), there were a total of 2768 Chinese learners at various Canadian colleges, trade training schools, and graduate schools; the number of learners at these institutions increased to 4683 in the following year. The figures tell that Sino-Canadian educational exchange is to continue. Nevertheless, with Western conceptions of knowledge, it is difficult for Canadian educators to understand Chinese students and scholars with distinctive characters of learning. In view of China's significantly different cultural, social and political heritage, Pratt (1991) asked how the differences will affect the exchange of knowledge and how Canadian educators might view these differences in a way that will improve communication and exchange across cultures. This question has led me to make a deeper probe into Chinese conceptions of knowledge before contemplating any effective guidelines for improvement in the Sino-Canadian exchange of knowledge.

Assumption

This study is based on the assumption that conceptions of knowledge are culturally bound rather than universal. They constitute "a very important component of what we call the cultural basis of a society" (Dahlgren, 1984, p. 19). Although such conceptions are seldom expressed explicitly by ordinary people, they are deeply rooted in their subjective experience as a result of the impact of a particular cultural legacy. How they interpret the meaning of knowledge is shaped by culture, and will, in turn, affect profoundly their ways of acquiring knowledge. This point of view may be further explained by Kluckhohn's (1949) notion of culture that it is organized by "linked premises and categories" (p. 35), which are systems of shared meanings, some of them have been constructed by schools of thinkers but some of them are rarely spoken, seldom reflected and often taken for granted.

Method

In order to reach out for the meanings ascribed to knowledge by Chinese people, the method used for inquiry is literary search. Literature on Chinese ways of thinking or literature by Chinese thinkers were selected for reading, as they may have captured some Chinese ways of understanding knowledge. Thus, library materials on or by Confucianists, Taoists, Neo-Confucianists and Maoists became the sources of data. During the reading, points of view were compared repeatedly for different interpretations of knowledge. Reading between the lines was necessary, for the significance of certain points of view was implied rather than stated. Mutually exclusive perspectives were noted according to their philosophical orientations on the nature and function of knowledge, and were categorized and represented as particular ways of thinking about knowledge held by the Chinese people.

Results

A range of five different ways of viewing knowledge were found in the process of analysis. The first two may be described by the English words "empirical" and "positivistic," while the rest may be characterized as "relativistic." Each of these uniquely Chinese perspectives will be discussed at length.

Knowledge is experience and action. Confucius (551 B.C-479 B.C) may be considered as the forerunner of Chinese empirical tradition, as one of the fundamental epistemological arguments of his philosophy is that true knowledge comes from Kowu (the investigation of things) (Lin, 1938). According to him, the investigation of things is achieved through seeing, hearing, thinking, and applying. Chen (1985) observed, "In the book of Lunyu, people who 'hear' to know appear fifty-seven times, people who 'see' to know appear seventy-one times. It is thus evident that Confucius had consistently recognized 'hearing' and 'seeing' as the most trustworthy source of knowledge" (p. 277). In other words, Confucius established that knowledge obtained through sensory experience is legitimate and credible. The net step of knowing is thinking, which is dialectically related to sensory experience, as he argued, "Learning without thinking is deceptive, thinking without learning is dangerous" (Mao & Shen, 1985, p. 252). In the last phase, the process of knowing is completed in practical experience which embraces action and application. Thus, Confucius had presented a cognitive model with epistemological underpinnings of Chinese empiricism.

The Confucian preoccupation with experience has carried a far-reaching influence in the development of Chinese thinking about knowledge. Later Confucianists had all inherited the empirical legacy. Wang Yangming (1472-1529), a Neo-Confucianist, suggested, "Knowledge is the beginning of action and action is the completion of knowledge. Learning to be a sage involves only one effort. Knowledge and action should not be separated" (Chan, 1963, p. 674). Even though Wang differed from other Neo-Confucianists who would argue action was the beginning of knowledge, he was reluctant to sever the dialectical relationship between knowledge and action. This reluctance was also reflected by Tai Chen (1723-1777): "A thing is an affair or event. When we talk about an event, we do not go beyond daily affairs such as drinking and eating. To neglect these and talk about principle is not what the ancient sages and worthies meant by principle" (Chan, 1963, p. 713). Tai Chen had rejected the validity of abstractions in his emphasis on the concrete, the particular and the immediacy of experience in which things and events are directly observable.

Even in the contemporary philosophy of Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976), there is a persistent ring of this Confucian empiricism. Like Wang and Tai, Mao equated knowledge with practical action and experience. He believed that all human knowledge begins, develops, and is evaluated in practical action. This process repeats itself in endless cycles, "with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level" (Mao, 1937, p. 308). Mao also regarded the element of change as a key aspect of experience: "the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world, thereby becoming capable of explaining it, but in actively changing the world by applying the knowledge of its objective laws" (Freemantle, 1962, p. 209). Since change is part of human experience, understanding the reality for its own sake can achieve nothing. Only in the experience of changing the natural and social world can knowledge bear any significance.

Knowledge embodies a principle. The philosophy of principle developed by Cheng Hao (1032-1085) and Cheng Yi (1033-1107) claimed that there was one single principle governing all things. Cheng Hao said, "The reason why it is said that all things form one body is that all have this principle, simply because they all have come from it" (Chan, 1963, p. 534). Tang (1982) observed, "the Ch'eng brothers were the first to build their philosophy primarily on the concept of principle (li), natural and moral, general and specific, which is also universal truth, universal order, universal law, and a universal process of creation and production" (p. 144). Therefore, they maintained that the investigation of this principle is essential to the acquisition of knowledge.

The Cheng brothers' reflection on principle was carried on by Chu Hsi (1130-1200), the most prominent thinker of Neo-Confucianism. The essence of his thinking is the relationship between principle and material force. By "principle," Chu Hsi meant that it is "the essential reason for the being of something, and...is also the knowable characteristic of a thing. Thus, principle is first in the order of being and in the order of knowledge" (Koller, 1970, p. 265). A corollary is that human knowledge embodies a single principle for all things and events. Fu and Liu (1988) offered a more detailed analysis of Chu's concept of principle. They believed that it had three major implications. First, principle exists beyond time and space, independent of the being of heaven, earth, and human society. Second, principle means laws governing objective things and events. Even insignificant things have this principle. Last, principle is ethical rules that regulate human life. All these implications have stressed the ubiquity and inevitability of this principle that dictates the motion of the universe and the conduct of human beings. Hence, to Chu Hsi, the Confucian tradition of the investigation of things as a way of extending knowledge means the investigation of principle to the utmost. According to him, to probe into principle to the utmost is "to seek to know the reason for which things and affairs are as they are and the reason according to which they should be, that is all" (Chan, 1963, p. 611).

Contemporary Maoism accepted Chu Hsi's objectivity. In view of the history of Chinese thought, Mao's recognition of an objective reality is rooted in Chinese tradition, rather than in Occidental Marxism. Mao's concrete objective laws are essentially similar to Chu Hsi's principle. Mao had, with other Chinese thinkers, expressed that human knowledge about the world results from the deduction and application of objective laws.

All knowledge is relative. This is a different line of thinking in the epistemological tradition of Chinese philosophy. Major Confucianists, Neo-Confucianists and Maoists conceptualized knowledge as being concrete and obtainable through the investigation of things. However, Taoists view knowledge from a relativistic perspective, as opposed to the notion that knowledge is objective and experiential. The ontological basis for Taoism is the unity of humans and nature. Hence the Taoist view of knowledge is that it "transcends the limits of percepts and concepts. It is direct and immediate, not being dependent upon a false duality between the knowing subject and known object. The principles that are to guide life and regulate the actions of man are the principles that regulate nature" (Koller, 1970, pp. 232-233). For Taoism, opposites such as yin and yang, being and non-being are meaningless without a third mediating element. Lao Tzu (c. 604 B.C-c. 531 B.C) called the mediating element Tao, a mystical conception of the world. But it was in line with such a view of the world that Chuang Tze (339 B.C-295 B.C) developed the Taoist epistemology. His ideas are based upon "the conviction that true happiness is dependent upon transcending the world of ordinary experience and cognition and identifying oneself with the infinity of the universe" (Koller, 1970, p. 239). Why then, should one go beyond ordinary cognition? Chuang Tze contended that knowledge of the world is contingent upon the perspectives of knowing subject. He illustrated, "Once I, Chuang Chou, dreamed that I was a butterfly and was happy as a butterfly. I was conscious that I was quite pleased with myself, but I did not know that I was Chou. Suddenly I awoke, and there I was, visibly Chou. I do not know whether it was Chou dreaming that he was a butterfly or the butterfly dreaming it was Chou" (Chan, 1963, p. 190). Chuang Tze was trying to elucidate his point of perspective here. From the butterfly's perspective, in its dream, it became Chuang Tze. From Chuang Tze's perspective, it was himself that became a butterfly. Thus, truth depends on the subjectivity of the dreamer in this case.

It is simply not possible to say that knowledge is derived objectively. From this point of departure, he went on to claim that all knowledge was relative. He maintained, "There is nothing in the world greater than the tip of a hair that grows in autumn, while Mount T'ai is small. No one lives a longer life than a child who dies in infancy, but P'eng-tsu (who lived many hundred years) died prematurely" (Chan, 1963, p. 186). The tip of hair is insignificant in comparison to the greatness of Mount T'ai. But when Mount T'ai is compared with Mount Everest, its greatness becomes insignificant. Therefore, how on earth are we able to know that a tip of hair is not great? We have absolutely no indubitable knowledge of smallness and greatness or mortality and immortality. The solution to this relativity is transcending the ordinary cognitive scheme and adopting a way of knowing things in its totality. And in this way, the Grand Harmony of humans and nature will be achieved.

Taoism is influential, no less than Confucianism, in Chinese thinking about knowledge. In the first place, the ontological unity of humans and nature and the epistemological link of mind and matter have kept the Chinese from holding distinctively dualistic conceptions of the world, of human society, of knowledge and of acquisition of knowledge. For example, in his perspective of the omnipresent objective principle, Chu Hsi had also mentioned the function of the mind in knowing. Even though he stressed that nature is principle (Lee, 1988), he argued that the mind "embraced all principles and all principles are complete in this single entity, the mind" (Chan, 1962, p. 606). Even Mao could not eschew the impact of Taoism. He had recognized that knowing is an objective-subjective-objective tautology (Soo, 1981). But Mao had also pointed out that knowledge is relative, though he believed that absolute truth is achievable in the long run (See Freemantle, 1962 p. 212).

Knowledge is complementariness of opposite concepts. In addition to relativism, Taoist thinkers argued that knowledge sprang from complementarity of opposites. A concept will not hold by itself. It exists in relation with its opposite. Chuang Tze contended, "Nevertheless, when there is life there is death, and when there is death there is life. When there is possibility, there is impossibility, and when there is impossibility there is possibility. Because of the right, there is the wrong and because of the wrong there is the right" (Chan, 1963, p. 183). The tone of relativism is loud. But because such concepts as life and death, right and wrong and possibility and impossibility are relative terms, they are not able to stand alone. Only when they are referred to their opposites can their meanings be complete.

It is the Taoist unity that has prompted the Chinese mind to view the world as a world of Grand Harmony: the harmony of humans and nature, the unity of mind and matter, and the complementariness of opposite concepts. So it is typical of the Chinese people to emphasize complement- ariness rather than contrariness, "Often views and principles can be seen to be not only different, but also opposed. But, of course, if they are opposed it is necessary that they have a common basis. In Chinese thought it is this common basis that is emphasized, and the differences are regarded as complementary rather than contrary. The differences are viewed as completing each other, thereby constituting a whole. Instead of thinking, "'A and B are opposed, therefore, one must take either A or B,' one thinks, 'A and B are opposed, therefore both are needed for the whole'" (Koller, 1970, pp. 199-200).

The holistic and synthetic mind has also led Chinese people to think of knowledge as composed of relative terms, concepts and categories. After probing Chinese reactions to such opposites as inner and outer, superior and inferior, and right and left, McDermott (1982) found that there was an "evident flexibility which characterized Chinese use of categories..." (p. 20). He concluded, "If we are pressed to specify a basic principle to which our three dualisms can be reduced, it surely must be that they cannot be reduced. Each of their terms and concepts has meaning only when used consciously or unconsciously along with its 'opposite.' ...Viewed as another dualism, the concept of harmony and conflict would rightly assume the same ambiguity, complexity, and intellectual richness as inner and outer, superior and inferior, and right and left" (pp. 20-21).

Knowledge is normative. In Chinese thinking, knowledge is never understood as being neutral, but is more or less viewed in connection with the ethical aspects of human life. Such a perspective springs from the basic idea of humans as moral beings: "Fan Ch'ih asked about humanity. Confucius said, "It is to love men." He asked about knowledge, Confucius said, "It is to know man" (Chan, 1963, p. 40). The central point of Confucius' remark is a humanitarian concern. Because humans are moral beings, their knowledge of other human beings cannot be made up facts free of moral values. Indeed, "to know man" means to understand the morality in human relationships. This ethical consideration of knowledge prompted Confucius to explain further that knowing "consists in manifesting the clear character, loving the people, and abiding in the highest good" (Chan, 1963, p. 86). Hence, the investigation of things, in strict Confucian terms, requires that knowledge be accomplished through the ethical duties such as cultivation of one's personal life, the fulfillment of filial piety to one's parents and the performance of loyal service to the people and the government.

While Confucius maintains that moral knowledge is achieved through the practice of jen, Mencius (c. 372-c.289 B.C) holds that it is innate in human mind, "The ability possessed by men without their having acquired it by learning is innate ability, and the knowledge possessed by them without deliberation is innate knowledge. Children carried in the arms all know to love their parents. As they grow, they all know to respect their elder brothers. To have filial affection for parents is humanity, and to respect elders is righteousness. These feelings are universal in the world, that is all" (Chan, 1963, p. 80). Thus, for Mencius, it is in preserving the original good of the mind that our ethical knowledge becomes capable of guiding our social life. The difference with Confucian ethics is the origin of moral knowledge. However, both philosophers shared the conceptualization that knowledge is not independent of the moral aspect of human living.

Wong (1985) believed that later Confucianists had envisaged two levels, or two kinds of knowledge: empirical knowledge and moral knowledge. The former is informative, whereas the latter is normative. Informative knowledge has its focus on the reality of the mundane world, while normative knowledge pertains to the moral aspect. Although such a distinction may not be so mutually exclusive, it is useful to look at the different emphases of Chinese thinkers. Mencius thought along the line of normative knowledge. In the fifteenth century, Wang Yangming followed Mencius' conception of knowledge as a result of his dissatisfaction with Chu Hsi's definition of the investigation of things. As opposed to Chu's view that investigating the principle in worldly things and events gives rise to knowledge, Wang maintains that "the investigation of things is to do good and to remove evil" (Chan, 1963, p. 688). Obviously, Wang's epistemology is characterized by a notion of the nature, the function and the purpose of knowledge with very strong ethical underpinnings. Laden with moral values, knowledge is not so much scientific as Chu Hsi and Tai Chen would claim, but serves to preserve the original good of the mind. Thus, knowledge of good and evil, from Wang's perspective, would have primacy over knowledge of things and events.

Another significantly ethical meaning embedded in Wang's interpretation of knowledge is that it should not be pursued for its own sake. Whether it is empirical or normative, we "seek knowledge in order that we may be more virtuous or have a better world" (Wong, 1985, p. 296). Knowledge of the physical world and that of human relationships will all contribute to the well-being of humanity. In summary, because humans are moral beings, and form one body with nature, our knowledge of the natural and social world is imbued with moral significance. Hence human knowledge should always provide ethical guidance for people to improve their life and their relationship with others. This is the essential concern in Chinese ways of conceptualizing knowledge.

Conclusion

These views of knowledge are rich in implications for Western educators to understand Chinese learners' approaches and orientations to the acquisition of knowledge. Chinese learners may find it more facilitative if knowledge is acquired in practice. They may learn by discovering laws or principles as universal and objective knowledge of nature, human life and society. They would probably also take a holistic approach to leaning, examining a specific piece of knowledge in its totality. Opposing ideas or concepts may not be brought to discrimination in terms of their nuances of difference. Instead, Chinese learners may tend to mediate differences by searching for a common ground in ideas or concepts. Finally, since knowledge is replete with moral significance, the pursuit of it means, to Chinese learners, striving for achievement of the highest good in their personal, familial and social life rather than for its own sake.

Understanding Chinese ways of thinking by Western educators can improve teaching and learning that involve Chinese learners and Western educators, as well as contribute to reciprocity in the cross-cultural exchange of knowledge. While Chinese adult learners find it beneficial to learn from the West, it would be equally productive for educators in Western countries to learn from how the Chinese have historically conceptualized knowledge, so as to enhance the quality of education in the West.

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CONNECTING WORKERS' EDUCATION TO THE WORKING-CLASS: LABOR SCHOOLS AND INFORMAL EDUCATION IN CULTURAL CONTEXT

Fred M. Schied

This paper reviews some of the significant historiography of workers' education in the United States. It suggests that previous interpretive frameworks have distorted and limited workers' education to the study of education as schooling. The paper argues that even though schooling is redefined along radical lines, viewing workers' education through the prism of schooling distorts the significance of a widespread and largely unexamined education rooted in working-class culture. The paper takes into account the theoretical insights of the new labor history, especially the concept of working-class culture.

Introduction

Interpretive frameworks concerned with the study of workers' education in the United States during the nineteen and early twentieth century have largely stressed the institutional nature of workers' education and have examined various labor schools, labor colleges and education programs broadly sympathetic to the labor movement.

Probably the most ambitious attempt to provide a framework for studying workers' education is Richard Dwyer's analyses.[1] Dwyer argues that the terms workers' education, labor education, and labor studies correspond to three distinct historical periods. These three periods differ in regard to curricular content, student body, and basic objectives. Workers' education, Dwyer argues, is imported from Great Britain and had its beginning in the early twentieth century. Its basic objectives were to "raise the consciousness of the working-class and prepare them to assist in bringing about a change in the social order." The characteristics of the second period, labor education, were very different. Labor education, dominant from the 1930s to the post-World War II period focused on trade union attempts at education for organizing. The third period, labor studies, developed during the 1950s and 1960s when universities began to increase their involvement in labor education. A discipline, entitled "labor studies" began to emerge. It is in this historical period in which education and workers find themselves today.

Dwyer's model can be seen as an defense of the professionalization of the field of labor studies. Education for workers began as a social movement, developed into union education and emerges as a highly specialized university controlled field ready to certify its graduates. Such a framework narrows and institutionalizes the study of workers' education to such a degree that it threatens to disappear altogether. Other attempts to provide some type of framework, although less elaborate than Dwyer, rest on similar assumptions.[2] First, they view the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century as the beginning of workers' education. Second, they see this beginning as more or less ineffectual. Third, they assume that education for workers resided primarily in the trade labor movement. Fourth, they assume that education for workers has, to a greater or lesser degree, evolved into university based training.

Curiously, it is the early historians of workers' education such as Arthur Gleason, Margaret Hodgen, and Marius Hansome, who had the much broader view of workers' education.[3] Less concerned with narrow definitions, though still largely seeing England as the homeland of workers' education, these historians traced the origins of workers' education to the beginnings of the workingmen's movement in the first half of the nineteenth century. Unlike the more recent interpreters, Gleason, Hodgen and Hansome see the origins of workers' education going beyond the confines of schools, classrooms, and curricula into the realm of reading clubs, workers associations and other informal educational endeavors. Though often overly impressionistic and sometimes short on analysis, these early works provide a direction for inquiry which has been lost in most of the more recent studies of workers' education.

More recently, some attempts have been made to suggest further directions the study of workers' education might take. Law laments the lack of interest on the part of American adult educators in workers' education.[4] He points to a "vibrant tradition" of radical education within the American labor movement and alludes to the fact that there are connections between popular education, social movements, and labor education. However, Law also assumes that workers' education began sometime around the turn of the century and views workers' education only within the institutional context of organized labor.

Altenbaugh, in a study on the origins of three labor colleges, provides what is probably the most thorough conceptual review of workers' education to date.[5] He argues that workers' education was inherently political and was created in part as a reaction against the formal education system. Unlike most previous studies, he traces workers' education back to nineteenth century institutions such as the mechanics institutes, lyceums and informal educational activities such as reading newspapers, reading rooms, and lending libraries. Moreover, Altenbaugh sees education as being "contested terrain" in which working-people attempt to shape education to meet their own needs. However, Altenbaugh's main concern is twentieth century workers' education and is institutionally based. His main focus still revolves around the traditional educational concerns of schools, curriculum, and pedagogy, albeit from a radical perspective.

The most promising attempt to reconceptualize workers' education is Hellyer and Schulman's effort to move the study of workers' education beyond education of union members and education for labor organizing.[6] By taking as their starting point Edward Thompson's cultural approach to social class, they move from a limited, narrow view of the education of working people to a broader conceptualization more in line with recent developments in the field of labor history. Ultimately their approach provides a more useful framework for studying not workers' education but working-class education. It is this perspective that the rest of this paper seeks to expand and clarify. In order to do so, we turn to the implications of the new labor history and its emphasis on the cultural aspects of the American working-class.

New Labor History

Over the last two decades, beginning with the publication of Herbert Gutman's seminal "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919, " a new paradigm emerged within the field of labor history. Centering around the works of David Brody, David Montgomery and Gutman, this analysis rejected the traditional interpretations of labor history which studied labor unions and political parties. These new labor historians repudiated the economic determinism and institutional framework which had dominated the writing of labor history. This older labor history, "...spun a cocoon around American workers, isolating them from their own particular subcultures and from the larger national culture." The new labor history sought to refocus the study of labor history on working-people on their daily lives, places of work and communities. Thus the study of history began to concentrate on the inarticulate and ordinary people and doing history form the "bottom up". Indeed, as Eric Foner has noted, labor history has moved from "the history of organized labor to the history of the working-class."[7]

Deeply indebted to the work of British historians, especially Edward Thompson, this new history treats social class as a dynamic social relation shaped, in addition to economic forces, by cultural and political factors including ethnicity and religion. Class relations need to be examined as part of a process in which people were born (or were placed) and by the collective exercise of power, which sustains or challenges those relations in all phases of social life. The framework in which class relations take place is the transition to industrial society which "entailed a severe restructuring of working habits -- new disciplines, new incentives, and a new human nature upon which these incentives could bite effectively." Fundamental to understanding this framework is the concept of "working-class culture."[8]

The definitions of culture used by the new labor historians have been largely adopted from Mintz and Gertz. Mintz notes that "culture is used; and any analysis of its use immediately brings into view the arrangements of status, power and identity. Working-class culture is characterized by the special sets of behavior, norms, loyalties, beliefs, etc. manifested and internalized by its members." However, culture is not just behavior but rather "a complex of rules and values which generate and guide behavior." In practice, this has meant that the new labor historians have explored "friendly and benevolent societies, friendly local politicians, community-wide holiday celebrations, libraries, participant sports, churches, saloons, beer gardens, concert halls or music halls, and depending on circumstances, trade unionists, labor reformers, and radicals."[9] It is within this context of working-class culture and using the insights of the labor historians that the education of working people can be located.

Immigrants and working-class education

One of the curious things in traditional interpretations of workers' education is its almost complete focus on English language programs and institutions. Yet well into the twentieth the American working-class was foreign born. As early as 1850 the foreign born made up more than 80% of all workers in New York and Chicago. By the end of the century the percentages of foreign born workers and the children of foreign born workers was even higher.[10] It should not be surprising that these workers brought their native culture, traditions, and beliefs with them to the U.S. where their culture was mediated by their experience in industrial America. It should also not be surprising that these working-class immigrants wrote about their experiences in their native language. In fact, a vast foreign language labor press existed to deal with the immigrants exposure to working-class life. Thousands of labor newspapers were founded by all the various ethnic groups who had immigrated to the United States and these were only a part of the still much broader general immigrant press. For example, Hoerder lists more than 300 German language labor newspapers, over 200 Italian language labor newspapers and even 50 Portuguese language labor newspapers.[11]

Few if any of these sources have been tapped by workers' education historians. Part of the reason that these sources have not been examined is no doubt due to the fact that English language sources are much more accessible. However, much of the reason for not mining this material is also due to a framework which locates workers' education outside the culture of working people and examines only institutional based workers' education. Even a cursory examination of these foreign language newspapers reveals that workers' education existed well before the beginning of the twentieth century and has its origins in the American working-class and was not imported from England.

Working-class culture and education

Locating workers' education within the broader theoretical framework of working-class culture connects education to the daily life of working people in ways that traditional interpretations have ignored. Even those studies examining radical workers' education still focus on institutions. The model used is still a schooling model in that it concerns itself with classrooms, curricula, teachers, and pedagogy. However, to concentrate on educational institutions, even when those institutions were in opposition to the dominant society, runs the risk of creating a "mirror image" of orthodox schooling. Education is reduced to telling the story of schooling - an alternative schooling of radical pedagogy and radical teachers and students - but schooling nonetheless. As Richard Johnson has noted, "educational pursuits were not separated out and labelled schooling."[12] Education took place within the framework of working-class cultural activities, events and non-educational institutions. This education was not "rationally" designed with pre-set curricula, objectives and measurable outcomes, but was often temporary, sometimes haphazard and often transitory.

Education, in this sense, occurred within the neighborhood, family, places of work, and places of socialization. Thus education was expressed through distinct working-class cultural practices, mediated by ethnic traditions. Education occurred in various types of workers' clubs, reading rooms, discussion and debate societies, through the labor newspapers, and through lectures provided by the numerous associations and organizations of the community. These forms of education were part of a boarder working-class culture which had its own entertainment, traditions, and festivals rooted in European traditions and adopted to American conditions. Yet it is precisely this education, intimately interwoven with culture, that provides the historian with a much richer, more complex, and ultimately more useful understanding of working-class education.

Notes

1. Dwyer, Richard E. Labor Education in the U.S.: An Annotated Bibliography (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1977); ibid., "Workers' Education, Labor Education, Labor Studies: An Historical Delineation," Review of Educational Research 47 (Winter, 1977), 179-207. Quotation is on page 182.

2. See, for example, Kenneth Carlson, "Labor Education in America," Review of Educational Research 41 (April 1971); Lois Gray, "American Way in Labor Education," Industrial Relations 5 (February 1966), 53-66; Thomas E. Linton, "Reality and Distortion in the Articles on Labor Education," Adult Leadership 15 (June 1966), 45-49; Lawrence and Marjorie Rogin, Survey of Adult Education Opportunities for Labor: Labor Education in the United States (Washington: National Institute of Labor Education at American University, 1968); Lawrence Rogin "Labor Unions," in Robert M. Smith, George F. Aker, and J.R. Kidd, eds., Handbook of Adult Education (New York: MacMillian, 1970), 301-314; Everette J. Freeman and Dale G. Brickner, "Labor Education: A Growth Sector in a Stagnant Industry," in Steven H. London, Elvira R. Tarr, and Joseph F. Wilson, eds., The Re-Education of the American Working Class (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990), 3-20; Jon Bloom,

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3. Arthur Gleason, Workers' Education: American Experiments (New York: Bureau of Industrial Research, 1921); Margaret Hodgen, Workers' Education in England and in the United States (New York: Dutton, 1925); Marius Hansome, World Workers' Education: Their Social Significance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).

4. Michael Law, "Workers' Education," in An Elephants' Graveyard or Buried Treasure? The Syracuse Adult Education Collection (Syracuse, N.Y.: Kellogg Project, 1988), 31-35.

5. Richard J. Altenbaugh, Education for Struggle: The American Labor Colleges of the 1920s and 1930s (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990). See especially "Workers' Education," 19-55.

6. Mickey R. Hellyer and Beth Schulman, "Workers' Education" Sharan Merriam and Phyllis M. Cunningham, eds., Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989), 569-582. For a similar analysis see Fred M. Schied "From the Education of Workers to Working Class Education: A Critical Review of the Significant Literature," unpublished seminar paper, Northern Illinois University, June, 1982.

7. See especially Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America," American Historical Review 78 (June 1973), 531-88; David Brody, "The Old Labor History and the New, Labor History 20 (1979), 277-85; David Montgomery, Workers' Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology, and Labor Struggles (New York, 1979). Quotations are from Gutman, 536 and Eric Foner "Labor Historians Seek Useful Past, In These Times (December 12-18, 1984), 117.

8. See E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Vintage Books, 1963); ibid., "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present 38 (1967), 56-97. Quotation is from Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society," 541.

9. For discussions of the concept of working class culture as used by historians see Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society," 541-543; Robert P. Baker "Labor History, Social Science and the Concept of Working Class," Labor History 14 (Winter 1973), 98-105; Zygmunt Bauman, "Marxism and the Contemporary Theory of Culture," Co-existence 5, 161-171; Milton Cantor, "Introduction," Milton Cantor, ed. American Workingclass Culture (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 3-30. Quotations are cited in Gutman, 541 and Baker, 101.

10. U.S. Census 1860, 609-621. See also Stephen Thernstrom and Ann Orlov, eds., Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

11. Dirk Hoerder, The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 3 vols. (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1987).

12. Richard Johnson, "'Really Useful Knowledge': Radical Education and Working Class Culture, 1790-1848," in John Clarke et al., eds., Working Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory (London: Hutchinson, 1979), 79. Much of the following analysis is taken from Johnson. See also his "'Really Useful Knowledge': Memories of Education for the 1980s," in Tom Lovett, ed., Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader (London: Routledge, 1988), 3-34 and "Culture and the Historians" in Working-Class Culture, 41-74.

ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH: NORTH-SOUTH VISIONS

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Some literature of the field suggests that the fundamental purposes for adult education are 1) individual empowerment and problem-solving or 2) social change and collective participation. It also hints that the first of these purposes is located in the industrialized North and the second in the developing South countries. This study addressed these assumptions by asking the question: What are the conceptions of the purposes of adult education research held by adult education researchers in the North and in the South? The conceptions uncovered by this study revealed disconcerting anomalies within our current approaches to and treatment of the research enterprise.

Background

Throughout its development, the field of adult education has spent considerable time defining its purposes. As early as 1936, (see Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982) varied and multiple definitions were playing an important role in directing the research, theory and practice of the field. Frequently, those definitions have been placed within a framework which suggests that adult education is conducted basically from two different viewpoints (Griffin, 1991; Keddie, 1980; Rubenson, 1982). The purpose of adult education is viewed either as psychologically-based and characterized by a concern with issues of individual empowerment and problem-solving, or as possessing socially-based goals and concerned primarily with affecting social change and collective participation. Recently, a new dimension has been added to this debate. Some literature suggests that the first view is based in the social and political contexts of the industrialized North countries, while the second view is associated with those in the developing South countries (Cunningham, 1991; Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988).

This perspective has been fostered by an increasing interest in comparative adult education issues which are based on the assumption that differences exist between North and South views of adult education.

These debates, however, have been conducted without empirical data to inform or substantiate them. This is all the more worrying since these dichotomous definitions of the purposes of the field are suspect at two fundamental levels. First, they suggest that the individuals within the field constitute a homogeneous group. For example, the views of researchers are assumed to be similar to those of literacy teachers. Second, these definitions hint that this supposedly homogeneous group holds views of the field's purposes which apply to all aspects of the field. Distinctions between views about the purposes of, for example, adult education research or adult education teaching have not been made.

This research project addressed both these issues by focussing on the views of a particular group in the field (adult education researchers) in terms of the purposes of a particular aspect of the field (adult education research). Further, it addressed the issue of contextualized views by addressing the research question to respondents from both North and South countries. The specific research question which guided this study was: What are the conceptions of the purposes of adult education research held by adult education researchers in the North and in the South?

Research Design and Implementation

The research design of this study was guided by an interpretive approach called phenomenography (Marton, 1981 [full bibliographic references available upon request]). Phenomenographists seek to uncover conceptions. Conceptions are forms of thought or ways of understanding the world which are characteristic not of individuals but of ways of functioning within an outcome space. An outcome space is an abstract way of representing the boundaries within which conceptions reside and within which individuals move back and forth. Within that outcome space, one person may hold many and contradictory conceptions about a phenomenon. It is a fundamental tenet of phenomenography that the identification of conceptions rather than the identification of who holds them is of paramount importance.

Finally, it is important to note that conceptions are both quantitatively limited and qualitatively different from each other. This means that somewhere between all of us holding individual conceptions and all of us holding the same conceptions, there are a limited number of conceptions that reside within an outcome space. Further, qualitative differences between conceptions resemble the differences between ice and water rather than between one litre and two litres of water.

Data in this study were collected from 16 respondents who identified themselves as adult education researchers within university environments. To address the theoretical debates in the field, 8 of the respondents were from South countries and 8 were from North countries. For the purposes of this study, and in keeping with literature in the area, the terms South and North referred to economic relationships rather than geographic locations. In the first instance, researchers were from Columbia, Dominican Republic, Ghana, India, Nigeria, Senegal and Thailand. In the second instance, researchers were from Canada and the United States. In each of these groups, there were four women and four men.

The data related in this study were collected via hour long, in-depth, semi-structured, taped interviews. Throughout the interviews, questions were phrased so that respondents could answer in terms of the purposes of both their own and others' research.

Data analysis was undertaken in a two step process. First, the audio tapes were played several times and words, phrases or sentences related to the theme of the purposes of research were noted. Second, these quotes were then sorted several times into various possible groupings of conceptions. Slowly core meanings were extracted and criteria for each group established. The analysis yielded four conceptions.

Findings

Conception I: The purpose of adult education research is for "getting good press." (Nathan)

(North respondents have names beginning with "N", South respondents have names beginning with "S." Quotes are identified by respondents' names to indicate the range of responses rather than their location)

Adult education researchers who held this view, linked adult education research to professional recognition and advancement. Research was a tool by which one acquired credibility and legitimacy. It was identified as a way of "enhancing (researchers') identity within the professoriate" (Nick) and of achieving "professional recognition" (Sam). Some respondents identified this conception in less complimentary terms as "self-aggrandizement" (Neil), that satisfied "ego demands" (Nolene). Publications were identified as the concrete evidence of research. Thus, publications became a "necessity that cannot be denied" (Sue), which are "part of what you have to do to survive" (Neil), and which give "stamps of approval" (Nick). These stamps of approval, in turn, were linked to "promotion" (Nolene), "status and tenure" (Sue), "money" (Neil), "the freedom to do other, more risky (research) stuff" (Norah), and increased funding opportunities (Sylvia).

Conception II: The purpose of adult education research is for "personal satisfaction." (Steven)

Some adult education researchers saw adult education research as a vehicle for acquiring personal pleasure. As one researcher enthused: "It is beautiful, there is so much to do, investigate, find out!" (Steven). Research was a way to follow one's "passion" (Nadene, Norris, Steven), and "urges" (Sandra) in order to achieve a highly personalized and individualized level of satisfaction. Its use or implications were not considered; it was of greatest importance that the questions asked were relevant to the researcher. Within this Conception respondents discussed two dimensions.

Dimension 1: "That is my source of satisfaction--developing an understanding of their problem." (Nick)
For some researchers, personal satisfaction evolved from "understanding" and "interpreting" (Ned) complex situations and problems. Research was a learning opportunity, a way "to experiment with different ways of knowing" (Nolene), "to gain insights" (Nancy, Sid) and "to get off on discovery" (Nathan).

Dimension 2: "It is the one thing that gives me some sense of purpose." (Nadene)
For some researchers, personal satisfaction resulted from having research that gave their work and personal lives a direction and framework. The concrete goals and aims of a research project provided solid, defined, and presumably attainable ends to these researchers. As well, some researchers viewed the process of research as a mechanism to explore new ideas and enjoy "rewarding, satisfying, positive relationships" with "people who think similarly" (Nick).

Conception III: The purpose of adult education research is to "lead to action." (Sam)

Adult educators who held this conception viewed research as a catalyst for change. They stressed the importance of having an "impact" (Ned), "making a difference" (Nancy) and "transforming reality" (Sandra). The target of this influence was diverse. It included graduate students, fellow researchers, practitioners, the field of adult education, decision and policy makers, and funding agencies. Processes to accomplish their goals were achieved by organizing "forums, networks" (Sid), fostering "critical thinking" (Nolene, Sue) or improving their "problem-solving abilities" (Sarah). Within this Conception there were two dimensions which the respondents discussed.

Dimension 1: "Research for me is stirring up people." (Sue)
Researchers who held this view saw research as a tool designed to "mobilize" (Sylvia, Steve) people with reduced power. There was an emphasis on "helping people develop" (Neil) so that they could "articulate for themselves" (Sid), and "critique the status quo" (Nadene). These respondents stressed the importance

of giving communities "the means to reach...goals by the communities themselves" (Sam). For some respondents the envisaged changes were at the micro level and then wanted individuals to acquire personal power and "feel good" (Nolene). Other respondents envisaged more macro level changes and wanted to "change the world" (Nathan).

Dimension 2: "One thing is--research is done with the intention of influencing policy." (Sid)

Researchers who held this view hoped to use their research to have an influence on those who held the power--the policy and decision makers. They directed research to "institutions" (Nick). They spoke of "the controllers" (Sandra) who needed to be influenced, so there would be a "change in government policy or government initiatives" (Steven). As one respondent said "to give change to the people, we have to get to the policy makers, so if you want change, maybe you have to use research to convince them." (Sue).

Conception IV: The purpose of adult education research is for "knowledge production." (Neil)

Researchers holding this view emphasized the importance of contributing to a knowledge base which would inform others. Unlike Conception III, this conception was static in nature. Research was a matter of presenting issues "at a cognitive level" (Sam). The purpose of the research was not social change, it was "fundamental research" (Stuart), "standard, standard, finding out stuff." (Neil). The emphasis was on the provision of clean, technically correct knowledge not on the effects of that provision. Researchers stressed the need to undertake "careful investigation and analysis" (Steven) in "more systematic, more scientific ways" (Sylvia), and in "applying the skills and methodology" (Steven) in order to provide "a data base" (Sarah) for others. For some researchers, this knowledge base was within the field of adult education, for others it was the knowledge base of grassroots people and policy makers.

Discussion

This study made visible the conceptions or "taken-for-granted understandings" that adult education researchers hold about the purposes of adult education research. At first glance, it would appear that the conceptions could be fitted into the dichotomous framework introduced at the beginning of this paper and dismissed. To do that however, would be to overlook some interesting anomalies and subtleties. First, for example, there were no apparent differences between the conceptions held by North and South adult education researchers. This homogeneity could be labelled as the globalization of our research purposes, or, it could be identified as the colonization of cultures and the socialization of individuals from those cultures into the university research culture. As one respondent said sadly "Somehow in my education, I lost my culture." (Sandra). How we choose to name, theorize, and research this phenomenon may very well illustrate the value which we place on differences rather than on conformity.

Although there were no apparent North/South differences in the conceptions, there was an underlying tone among the South respondents which words alone cannot transmit to the reader. In terms of research "leading to action", there was a sense of urgency and immediacy among the South respondents which can not be ignored here. One respondent portrayed the difference this way: "Don't forget that in Canada, you get up in the morning, the light is there, the water is there, you read about those people in the magazines who have difficulty. You rarely visit them and then there is nothing that disrupts your life from morning to evening." (Steven). There was the clear sense among the South respondents that research was about "survival" (Sue).

Second, there was some suggestion in the study that some conceptions could not be held simultaneously. For example, one could not get good press at the same time that one followed one's "passion." This rather sad commentary perhaps, gives some insights into criticisms of adult education research as slow moving, regressing and undertaken by scholars with limited commitments (see Long 1991 for extended bibliographic references in this area). Further to this point, it is clear from this study that adult education researchers view the purposes of their research in two thematic ways. Research is viewed as an instrumental activity which brings about valued and useful outcomes. However, it is viewed also as a commodity which can be exchanged for items such as status and money. This second view may be particularly problematic if it represents a view which means that research is being done which has limited inherent value to the researcher himself or herself.

Third, it is clear that to equate the activity of research to knowledge production (Merriam, 1991; Long, 1991) is an over simplification of how adult education researchers themselves view the field. Such a reductionist approach to research does little to address the critiques of our field's research. Further, since it is a specific view of research which is not necessarily held by all, it suggests a norm which is exclusionary in character.

Conclusion

This study was an initial investigation into the adult education research enterprise as it is viewed by those who practice it. It made visible conceptions which can form the basis for on-going investigations and discussions. Further dialogue and research, however, will best be conducted from a theoretical base. Sociological theories, for example, could frame research questions about these conceptions in relation to changing social and political structures, in terms of the production or consumption of culture, or in relation to stratified hierarchies of knowledge. In the final analysis, the ways in which adult education researchers develop these findings will reflect their views of the purposes of research in the field of adult education.

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ADULT EDUCATION'S MARGINAL DIFFERENCE

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Adult education has thrived in its marginal position, in its ability to respond to emancipatory movements and cultural rupture. Its move into the mainstream threatens this identifying characteristic unless commitment to its own independence is pursued.

Introduction

What ideological working spaces has university adult education historically enjoyed and what does it have today? Can university adult educationalists still work within a socially liberatory practice? This paper argues that adult education has historically occupied a marginal position in the ideological state apparatus such that it has been able to articulate more and less than the dominant order requires. It is in fact a double articulation expressing both the hegemonic requirements of good citizenship for a liberal democratic state and the higher cultural demands of the subordinate classes and gender. Because it exists in the relatively under-policed fringe of the educational system - fewer inspections, reviews, reorganisations, and fewer specific demands for curriculum delivery, for example, than mainstream higher education - and because of the guerilla type operations of its pioneer work, where the special task forces have had to ape the methods of the liberation forces of the subaltern groups - workshops, self-help groups, consciousness raising - adult education can be a peculiarly labile and responsive activity.

The paper briefly surveys three persuasive moments in the history of British university adult education, when through its activities the academy has briefly fused with movements for social and national emancipation to produce the significant cultural changes, namely: the expansion of University Extension to Europe and America in the 1890s, the Oxford Delegacy's mission to West Africa 1945-50 and the development of interdisciplinary cultural studies in Yorkshire and Oxford 1950-60. It argues that these were moments of rupture when traditional boundaries in society and education were overturned and liberatory practices emerged. These moments were made possible by the commitment of university intellectuals to social movements, to flexible discursive practices and to innovatory cultural institutions.

The paper then asks whether these were privileged moments when fissures in the hegemony could be colonised by "subversive" practices, but which have now been closed by the commodification of culture and cultures, or whether it is possible (drawing on Michael Collin's work) to negotiate new liberatory educational practices with dispossessed and subordinate groups in what Paul Willis calls a "common culture".

University Extension in the Nineteenth Century

Adult education as a professional discipline begins in the mid nineteenth century in part as a development of charitable social work - literacy, hygiene, domestic skills for working women usually by women of breeding and social conscience. These developed often into a kind of literacy work where girls would be taught the bible and morally improving literature lest more sensual and lucrative practices claim their idle moments. In their own increasing leisure middle class women, some of whom gave their time to this kind of social work also felt in need of greater social and cultural understanding. They furnished a large part of the audience for the newly established University Extension movement in the 1870s and 80s. Women also formed the core of the newly recruited profession of schoolteachers after the 1870 Education Act in Britain. Often from the working and lower middle classes, they were inspired by the prospects of freedom from domestic oppression offered by independent means and also by the historic burden of acculturation of their otherwise anarchic working-class charges. Many women schoolteachers embraced the ideology of the New Woman and found inspiration in the plays of Ibsen and Shaw and the popularisation of Nietzsche which empowered them to cast off Victorian moral bondage. University Extension was instrumental in this process both in introducing them to ideas from the European cultural centres and from cultural critics such as Carlyle and Ruskin, but also in fostering school teacher professionalism through courses and summer schools. University Extension was for many a kind of in-service training. It is an example of where the independent status of universities and in the case of Oxford and Cambridge, their powerful funding, met the educational needs of an emergent and potentially radical group in civil life.

A second well-spring of adult education lay in the activities of working men to educate themselves in science and the humanities. Since even before the nineteenth century this had taken a variety of forms. The first were undoubtedly the medieval guilds where the mystical secrets of the craft were passed with all due ritual from master to apprentice through years of training and practice. By the late eighteenth century skilled men also banded together in semi-clandestine groups to read about and discuss science and its application to craft technology. Later they discussed science's application to nature and the world around them finding the beginnings of a science of society. For these masterless men self-education gave their work dignity and their lives purpose. In the post Enlightenment period the national and royal societies began popularising their knowledge among the rising order of merchants and industrialists who, in their protestant turn, informed their skilled workers, a process which gave rise to the Mechanics Institutes. Another form of adult education was pioneered in Denmark where the impetus to popular education came from the Folk High Schools which were based equally on fierce nationalism, evangelical non-conformism and agricultural rationalism, enough to turn a crisis ridden Danish arable economy into a thriving dairy and pig production which has formed the stable economic base to one of the most long lasting social democratic societies. Thus long before the involvement of the universities, civil life in the multifarious ways of charity, trade, religious and rationalist organisations was attending to the educational needs of adults.

In Britain the response to this movement was University Extension which the radical founders saw as taking the benefits of university education to the people who were otherwise unwelcome at the highly exclusive universities of Oxbridge. For Michael Sadler and others it was specifically a mission to the northern industrial towns where in the footsteps of Ruskin they heard an undeniable cry from working men for education and recognition. This was not simply university altruism, though the dedication and passion of many of the pioneer extension lecturers to democratise higher education cannot be doubted, but the need of a nervous dominant order, increasingly fearful of the power of the mob, to replace anarchy by culture, bourgeois culture. This was not so much a matter of stated policy as of intellectual consensus in which the relatively independent agencies of the Oxbridge universities were able liberally to interpret the order's cultural and political needs. The universities themselves, in this relatively open political State of the nineteenth century could both offer to the rising classes an interpretation of their educational needs while at the same time articulating the requirements of social order. It was not so much an "interface", god help us, as a place of negotiation between subordinate and dominant groups where the conditions of life under a dramatically extended (male) franchise might be negotiated. Civic rights and duties, moral obligations, right conduct, aesthetic taste, rational argument and even the construction of "Englishness" itself were the agenda, open and hidden, of University Extension. What began as an extension of university to a grateful artisan and lower middle class by the turn of the century gave way to demands for independent working class education from a highly politicised and mobilised working class.

Undoubtedly the *Universitae Populaire* movement in France in the late nineties raised the level of tension, when ironically, because the French universities were both structurally unable and academically unwilling to advance University Extension in the same way as in Britain, the Parisian workers themselves took the initiative in organising themselves and demanding from the universities education on their own terms. This movement, which began as an anarchist politics and ended as a masonic ideology, flared up after the Dreyfus affair but over the next ten years dwindled for lack of an organised base.

It was in part the inspiration for the WEA in Britain in 1903 and the Labour Colleges after the Ruskin Strike of 1909 both of whom echoed the call for the democratic organisation of working class education as opposed to university paternalism. It was however Oxford's sensitive and reflexive response to this call that established the foundations, in the three year tutorial class, for the most sustained and rigorous programme of workers' higher education there has been. Whatever the limits of this kind of education and one was its minority and elite nature the political agenda shifted, and the state was forced to make substantial concessions to the rising class. But Oxford not only responded to the workers' demands for university quality education, it acceded to the right of workers to organise that education to determine the subjects and course of study. It also fulfilled the dominant order's requirement to limit that education to a minority elite of largely male skilled workers, to agree to limits to the ideological boundaries of discussion and to seek to channel political activity through legitimate, i.e. parliamentary and trade union, means. In this way it provided not only the conceptual skills and cultural requirement of the working class leadership but also reproduced the symbolic order of the dominant group in terms of a new consensus. Something over 60% of the members of the 1945 Labour government, the most determinedly radical of any Labour government, claimed their education was from the WEA (the rest and most of the cabinet were Public (i.e. private) School). University adult education has therefore both given real fulfillment to the desires of the working class leadership for higher education but also acted as the means of gaining the consent of organised workers to the new structures of power. Within a limited framework it enabled an advance in democratic rights and participation in an expanded polity to be negotiated. I don't wish to imply that this is was totally determined by the ruling order, because clearly it had made substantial concessions in terms of welfare and political rights, but that adult education provided a site of practical and theoretical discussion over the limits of the order's tolerance.

Thus it could be argued that adult education was a crucial site for negotiating the modernisation of the British state in the which the working class both demanded and were conceded substantial new claims on state resources and welfare (claims which have been steadily eroded over the past decade). The sudden expansion of University Extension over Europe in the 1890s also testifies to the alliance of university intellectuals with nationalist, socialist and workers groups as well as societies for the popularisation of science in adult education provision. The key ideology of this convergence was a kind of social evolutionism, not just Social Darwinism, but also scientific socialism which saw democracy as a necessary feature of political modernisation. Adult education in Europe drew in very substantial intellectual talents who allied themselves to workers and nationalist causes such as the sociologist, Masaryk in Bohemia, who became the first president of liberated Czechoslovakia; the philosopher, Gabriel Seailles, in France; and in Belgium the extraordinary Elisee Reclus, communard and founder of the discipline of Social Geography whose potential has been realised in recent years by Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey in *The Condition of Postmodernity*. There were even courses in Prague in the late 1890s on semiotics which Kafka may have attended. This was education at the margins and limits of tolerance in direct and continuing discussion with democratic needs over desires and possibilities in which older patterns of thought came under severe criticism and new modes of rational activity licensed. Nowhere had the vocation of adult education been better exemplified.

Adult Education and Decolonialisation in Africa

The original expansion of University Extension coincided with the intense intellectual and political movements which culminated in the Russian Revolution and the emergence of social-democratic regimes throughout Europe, modernist movements in art and the Taylorisation of industry. But as the reaction and retrenchment of the dominant order set in during the inter-war years so adult education became professionalised, gained state grant-aiding and consequently took on a more "responsible" role under closer state scrutiny. However in Britain the Second World War gave greater urgency to the question of decolonialisation and through the work of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, a zygote of the Labour Party's think-tank the Fabian Research Bureau, the war time coalition government planned to begin to educate the African colonies for eventual self-government. Of the three commissions which were appointed to assess the educational needs of the colonies, two were for higher education and one for mass adult education.

The Elliot and Asquith Commissions recommended setting up university colleges in West Africa, where demands for independence were most vocal, each of which should have EM departments to take the university to the people and so avoid small educated cliques. Before this plan could be carried out, since it was conceived on long time scale, George Wigg, a Labour MP and former WEA District Secretary and Tommy Hodgkin the secretary of the Oxford Delegacy (the University of Oxford's Extra-Mural Department) submitted a plan for experimental pioneer courses in Nigeria and the Gold Coast (Ghana). These courses were on politics, social history, and economics, the staple fare of British tutorial classes. After considerable wrangling with the Inter University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies about the status of these courses, several were carried out between 1947 and 1949 and they formed the basis for the Extra Mural departments at the new University Colleges when they opened the following year. The courses attracted considerable notoriety and were denounced in the House of Lords as a communist conspiracy, a period admirably documented by Roger Fieldhouse. Hogkin and a number of the Oxford tutors in Africa were indeed Communist Party members but it is more likely that the outrage was because the classes discussed controversial matters in a frank and informed way which licensed criticism of the colonial governments. A substantial section of the West African nationalist leadership attended these courses and many of them became members of the first Independence governments of Ghana and Nigeria. Hodgkin had targetted this group when he made his preliminary five week visit to West Africa to set up the courses and there is no doubt he had tacit Colonial Office approval for what he was doing. But in classic adult education fashion the needs of the self-help and educational groups the African nationalists formed were canvassed and the course syllabus was agreed with them. The Oxford tutors who were then sent out were well read in African affairs and counselled to adapt their courses to African needs. The courses did, however, centre on European political and social thought, British working class and trade-union organisations and social history.

While the Elliot Commission had recommended a civic education for creating a liberal state based on the British model, it was clear that Oxford had the long march of Labour in mind. Indeed its priority was to encourage the establishment of a voluntary movement which could democratically control its own education on the model of the WEA. It was a remarkably successful operation and not surprisingly when Hodgkin submitted plans for repeating the experiment in Rhodesia and Nyasaland he was roundly rebuffed with the remark that education for self-government was not acceptable to a large white-settler population.

Its success can be seen, however, as precisely because of adult education's marginality. Through it African nationalist leaders were able to construct arguments and social models along radical European lines without censure from colonial governments on the one hand, while on the other, the decolonising Labour government was able to test the pace of the Independence movement at arms length, without having to take responsibility for the experiment if it backfired. When things did go wrong, in what were the opening shots of the Cold War, it quickly dissociated itself from the Delegacy and its works (and passed the batten into safer hands like those of Raybould in Leeds, who had a much more restricted view of the boundaries of liberal tolerance than Hodgkin's).

The Emergence of Cultural Studies from Adult Education

While one aspect of adult education's vitality has been its ability to respond swiftly and flexibly to liberation movements and stimulate transformed political outcomes, its marginality has also enabled it to transform the academic agenda itself. The emergence of interdisciplinary cultural studies in higher education in Britain owes its origins to the work of adult educationalists like Raymond Williams, Edward Thompson and Richard Hoggart. During the inter-war years the Yorkshire district of the WEA was commanded by the redoubtable George Thompson who, deeply suspicious of bourgeois ideology, held strong views on how the arts should be taught. He insisted that they should relate directly to the experience of working people and should not parade the virtues of so called "spiritual values". He held moreover that the academy's conventional division of knowledge into separate disciplines was of no use to militant workers who, in order to understand their own oppression, needed to range freely through the social sciences, history and literature. He maintained that any subject taught in the WEA should be "a gateway through which a vista can be glimpsed of the importance of other subjects" and that "a subject encased in the high walls of specialisation...leads up a blind alley, at the end of which there is either stagnation or the same things are chased round and round like a dog pursuing its own tail". Thus, the teaching of the arts was to be "sociological".

Both Hoggart, who was born and bred in Leeds, and Edward Thompson, no relation, became extra mural staff tutors in the Yorkshire district and wrote their own seminal works, *The Uses of Literacy* and *The Making of the English Working Class* in this ethos. Williams worked quite independently, however, in the Oxford Delegacy although his own work *Culture and Society* was written at the same time and he liaised with Hoggart and Thompson in the Tutors Association. Hoggart went on to found the widely influential Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies which was subsequently taken over by Stuart Hall whose own experience of adult education teaching was very important to his outlook. Hall now works for the Open University, in some ways the inheritor of the radical tradition, and the pacemaker for cultural studies, witness the now deceased Popular Culture course of the early 80s, a victim of the Thatcherite thought police. Cultural Studies is now on the agenda of most universities and polytechnics and has significantly reshaped the undergraduate curriculum in the arts.

Conclusion

In its role of providing higher education, adult education has participated in significant rupturings of political and ideological discourses, by allying itself with emergent radical movements and by refusing the academy's conventional divisions of knowledge. This is the force of its marginal difference. It has existed on minimal funding as an often embarrassing outgrowth of the university, rubbing shoulders with unpleasantly noisy community campaigning groups and working people's organisations. In Britain, however, the picture is radically changing: adult education is coming in from the cold and being assimilated into the mainstream. As often as not this is because the authorities have realised that the fastest and cheapest way to increase student numbers is through the Access route for adults, who can come part-time, who usually live locally, who already have substantial "cultural capital" and who are used to making do with scarce resources. This is not all negative and the extension of the goods of the academy to the broader public is to be welcomed, but no new resources are promised.

The specifically Adult Education part of the agenda which was to do with negotiations in that crucial marginal space is not to be preserved. Instead the Continuing Education aspect simply absorbs mature students into existing or rejugged modular degree courses with the result that one of the defining features of relatively independent adult education will disappear and with it, presumably, the Extra Mural department. Some welcome this uncritically as the coming of age of adult continuing education and see the paraphernalia of American psychologically inspired andragogy as a new dawn for adult learning. However, as Michael Collins has recently pointed out, this provides little space for the vocation of adult education and the tradition of collective and communicative learning which is committed to social change and ethical issues. Collins stresses the importance of collective decision making, group dialogue, affirmation of cultural diversity and democratic social relations, values which are largely eclipsed by the individualistic and heavily technicist ideology of the psychologically inspired models.

While these methods of course offer insights into how adults learn in the post-modernist commodified culture where human and cultural relations are offered as reified commodities to be purchased off the shelf and consumed in private, they do not address themselves to the discourses of social emancipation. Adult education, however, thrives in its marginality and unless commitment is confirmed to what used to be called "social purpose" it will be drowned in the mainstream.

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"PRAGMATISM" AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR ADULT EDUCATION: THE JANE ADDAMS/JOHN DEWEY COLLABORATION

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Jane Addams' program of adult education at Hull House, and John Dewey's philosophy of adult based education based upon it, produced by 1902 the first full application of "Pragmatism" to adult education, and the first modern philosophy of adult education. It is still of interest today.

Background

Jane Addams opened her famous settlement house, Hull House, in Chicago in 1889. John Dewey opened his school in Chicago five years later, in 1894. In the ensuing years they became close friends and professional collaborators. While this friendship and collaboration has been previously noted, its fruits for adult education, have not.

Hull House was, in Jane Addams words, "a protest against the restricted view of the school." Hull House offered "self-expression as a central pedagogical device...a close collaboration between home and school in the nuturence of youngsters...a vigorous attempt to reconnect the schools with the families and neighborhoods from which they drew their students...a concerted effort to give (learners) some sense of the history and nature of a modern urban, industrial society...(and) abandonment of the formal lectures...and the substitution of vital discussion of contemporary social issues."[1]

The settlement movement itself was part of a national response to rapid urbanization, massive immigration, and industrialization. The response had included urban missions, activist churches, and the settlements, all trying to reach people in distress in the crowded urban cities of turn-of-the-century America. The settlements more than any other organizations had relied on education to accomplish their ends; and the peculiar innovation of the settlements, accomplished par excellence at Hull House in Chicago, was to offer an educational component to their social welfare programs, a component that relied on the people being served to determine much of what was taught, and how it was taught. It is difficult to appreciate the importance of this innovation today. At the time, the University Extension Services, the Chautauqua, the Lyceum, even Worker's Education circles were all doing "uplift", i.e. helping those with little learning to acquire a good education, the orientation always to traditional subject matter. The settlements, on the contrary, found (after some false starts), that they could draw much larger groups, and had greater success when they taught what their "neighbors" wanted, or needed.

Dewey had visited Jane Addams at Hull House even before he moved to Chicago, in 1892, only three years after it had opened. At the time Dewey was only two years away from accepting a position at the University of Chicago. He was impressed by Addams' commitment to learning from the community, to the settlement house as a new kind of educational institution, and her commitment "to help organize social relations in such a way that the community itself would become educative."[2]

A letter Dewey wrote to Addams upon his return to Michigan could not have been more prescient of the future of American education: He wrote: "I cannot tell you how much good I got from my stay at Hull House. My indebtedness to you for giving me an insight into matters there is great...Every day I stayed there only added to my conviction that you had taken the right way. I am confident that 25 years from now the forces now turned in upon themselves in various churches or agencies will be finding outlet very largely through just such channels as you have opened."[3]

Dewey's school at the University of Chicago was also responding to many of the same factors that the settlements were responding to. In chapter one, "The School and Social Progress" of his first great success, School and Society, Dewey discussed the elements of social change that had been affecting education. "Books, magazines, papers were multiplied and cheapened. As a result of the locomotive and telegraph, frequent, rapid and cheap intercommunication by mails and electricity was called into being. Travel has been rendered easy; freedom of movement, with its accompanying exchange of ideas, infinitely facilitated. The result has been an intellectual revolution. Learning has been put into circulation...Knowledge is no longer an immobile solid; it has been liquefied."[4]

Addams would comment: "John Dewey opened a little practice school which he established near the University of Chicago, and demonstrated among other things the interaction between the individual and his environment." Additionally, she argued that "John Dewey's little yellow covered book, The School and Society made so clear the necessity for individualizing each child that it is quite fair, I think, to say that his insistence upon an atmosphere of freedom and confidence between the teacher and pupil, of a common interest in the life they led together, profoundly affected all similar relations, certainly those between the social worker and his client."5

Addams and Dewey: Adult Education

The fruits of the collaboration between Addams and Dewey for adult education arise out of an invitation Dewey received from the National Educational Association to speak at their annual meeting to be held that July in Minneapolis. He was asked to speak on the subject: "The School as a Social Centre." The Social Centre movement was relatively new, a school based educational cousin of the Settlement movement. Dewey had never directly addressed the subject, but it promised to blend important strands of his own thought with the practical achievements of Addams at Hull House.

Dewey's speech was remarkable in 1902, and still has power today, because by analyzing a movement and social forces sweeping the industrial world, Dewey presented the modern world with its first coherent philosophy of adult education and lifelong learning. It is essential to note that in the speech Dewey gave full credit to Addams for creating the model upon which he based his theorizing. As he said, Hull House is "the working model upon which I am pretty continuously drawing."[6] Indeed, we may add that Addams not only developed the "working model" but also wrote on adult education herself. In all respects the philosophy of adult education presented in the speech is the result of the work of both Addams and Dewey.

In the talk Dewey noted that the relatively new connection between the school and the state, exemplified in the new civic education, had to be expanded to include a relationship between the school and wider society. Dewey argued that "...the isolation between state and society, between the government and the institutions of family, business life, etc. is breaking down. We realize the thin and artificial character of the separation." This, he argued, explained "the demand that it (the school) shall assume a wider scope of activities having an educative effect upon the adult members of the community..."

He argued that this new learning, combined with new industry, produced such a mixture of ideas and people that no "nationality, race, class, or sect" can be "kept apart from others, impervious to their wishes and beliefs." He hoped that "bigotry, intolerance, or even an unswerving faith in the superiority of one's own religious and political creed" will be "much shaken."

In his talk Dewey emphasized his fear that given the sheer speed of change, people might lose the "value of their own native traditions, their own native music, art, and literature." (Dewey and Addams held this position against a "melting pot" vision of America, seven years before Israel Zangwill's play, The Melting Pot opened on Broadway, popularizing the concept.)

Dewey also worried about the increased specialization of knowledge and feared that without some form of adult education "...a large part of our wage earners are to be left to their own barren meagerness..."

Dewey was interested in the many ways that adults learn outside of educational settings. The term "individual learning project" may be new, but it describes activities with which Dewey was quite familiar. In the 1902 speech he said, "Conversation, social intercourse, observation, and reflection upon what one sees going on, ... reading of magazines and books will do much." But, he added, "they can hardly be expected to do all" and hence "do not relieve the community from the responsibility of providing... a continuous education for all classes of whatever age."

Dewey then suggested tasks to be performed by schools functioning as social centers. His view, like Addams view, was inclusive.

He argued that schools as social centers needed to promote recreation and amusement. Again, basing himself on Hull House, he stated, "demand for recreation and for enjoyment, just as enjoyment, is one of the strongest and most fundamental things in human nature."

Next, Dewey called for a social/community improvement role for learning, with centers acting as "a social-clearing house" "... where ideas and beliefs may be exchanged..." for the purpose of responding to the "decay of dogmatic and fixed methods" and "of doing away with the barriers of caste, or class, or race."

Third, in addition to recreation and social improvement, Dewey wanted schools as social centers to bring out the "vast amount of underutilized talent dormant all about us." This would range, he argued from "instruction in the rudiments for those who had little or no early opportunities" to occupational training, to availability of laboratories, art studios, and workshops, to "more advanced" activities. And he continued, "many an individual has capacity within himself of which he is only dimly conscious, because he has never had an opportunity for expressing it."

Dewey concluded by arguing that the school as a social center was "born out of our entire democratic movement," that "the community owes to each one of its members the fullest opportunity for development," and that "this is no longer viewed as a matter of charity, but as a matter of justice...".

The philosophy of adult education embodied in this speech, based on Addams' work in Chicago, is the first comprehensive argument for, and description of, the adult education movement. It included what we now call adult basic education, occupational training, community education, social reconstruction, education for recreation and enjoyment, and personal development. (Indeed, Dewey and Addams' work anticipates numerous theoretical and analytic schemas of the adult education field from recent years. One can see Bryson's five categories: political, remedial, occupational, liberal, and relational;[7] Houles' three categories are anticipated: utilitarian, learning for its own sake, and socially motivated learning;[8] Darkenwald and Merriam's five categories are present: cultivation of the intellect, societal advancement, personal growth/maintenance of a better society, change of social order, and organizational effectiveness; Tough's "self-directed learning" comes to mind,[9] as do many recent taxonomies and categorization.[10]

Lessons to be Learned From Addams and Dewey

1. By basing an adult education program in a community setting Addams and Dewey did not need to arbitrate between education for social responsibility versus education for personal growth, or any other kind of adult education. They could advocate an inclusive program. An individual might take the Plato course one year, come to a meeting on the Haymarket protest the next, and come to see the teaching of children to sing songs in the tongue of their native land the third year. Today, when we become engaged in arguments about education for social responsibility versus other kinds of adult education, it is probably an indication of the fractured nature of our own programs, not of the importance of the argument.

2. Addams met the needs of the people in her neighborhood by teaching them how to speak English, but by basing the curriculum on the native cultures and traditions of the people to whom the classes were taught. She thus helped to equip them with skills they needed to get by in Chicago, circa 1900, but did it in a way that ennobled and (we might say today) "empowered" them. There was no need to force choices between the dominant or the "minority" cultures, both were respected. Indeed, Addams told a story to indicate that she thought the results would be better for both: "You know, that there is a theory of race which says that when people journeyed on foot or on camels or by other means into a strange part of the world, their contact with the established civilization there produced a curious excitement that often resulted in the creation of a new culture that never had existed before".[11]

3. The impact of "Pragmatism" on adult education did not await the 1920's before it was "fully applied" as Elias and Merriam have argued.[12] In the Addams/Dewey collaboration we see applied to adult education: a focus on human problems, an avoidance of dualisms, an intent to relate problems to the specific needs and interests of the adults involved, a commitment to changing standards and evolving relationships in society (versus fixed permanent standards), equal value given to the body and the physical world as to the mind and thought, a willingness to change approaches if the consequences warrant it, an emphasis on a fair process, and a firm belief that it is not the world or the individual but the interaction between the two that

is paramount. In all of these we see essential mature "Pragmatic" doctrines being applied to adult education programming and to a philosophy of adult education in 1902, a full generation before it is supposed to have happened. Furthermore, the way in which Addams and Dewey resolved problems that faced them, using a "Pragmatic" approach, is a challenge to us to consider implications of "Pragmatism" for adult education today.

Notes

1. Cremin, Lawrence American Education, The Metropolitan Experience, pg. 176.
2. Ibid. pg. 179.
3. Letter from Dewey to Addams in the Dewey library, Carbondale Illinois.
4. Dewey. School and Society, Chapter 1.
5. Addams, Jane, "John Dewey and Social Welfare" in John Dewey, The Man and His Philosophy, Harvard University Press, 1930, pg. 142.
6. All quotes come from "The School As A Social Center", pgs. 373-383 in National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses on the 41st Annual Meeting.
7. Bryson, L. Adult Education, American Book Company, New York, 1936.
8. Houle, C. The Design of Education, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1971.
9. Tough, A. The Adult's Learning Project, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, 1979.
10. Rachel, John, "Taxonomies and Typologies of Adult Education" in Lifelong Learning, V. 12, N. 12. 1988, pg. 20.
11. Eater (?), Journal of Adult Education, 2, (1930) 276-279.
12. Elias and Merriam, Philosophical Foundations of Adult Education, pg. 53.

BACK TO PEDAGOGY: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF DUTCH ANDRAGOGY

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The rise of Dutch andragogy must be seen in the context of the professionalization of social workers and adult educators within an expanding welfare state. The decline of andragogy is the consequence of a lack of shared disciplinary identity and the erosion of the Dutch welfare state.

From Social Pedagogy to Andragogy

The Netherlands played a pioneering role as far as the professional training for social and educational work is concerned. A School for Social Work was founded in Amsterdam in 1899, probably the first school in the world of this kind. Contrary to the present use of the term, in the Netherlands the notion of 'social work' not only meant public assistance, but also popular education. From its foundation, the School for Social Work was engaged in the entire gamut of activities that many years later fell under the heading of 'andragogical' work (Van Gent, 1973).

A profession can be distinguished from other occupations by several features. Its members belong to an association that sets standards for their occupational competence and tries to protect their field of expertise against invasion by other professions. Fundamental to the process of professionalization is the creation of a body of knowledge fit to serve as material for research and study at an institute for higher education. Understandably, the emerging Dutch professionals in the fields of social work and adult education sought a science of their own. At first, this was found in 'social pedagogy', a developing discipline in Germany (Van Gent 1989). A German pedagogue by the name of Mager used the term 'Sozialpädagogik' for the first time in 1844; eleven years previously, the German highschool teacher Kapp had coined the word 'Andragogik'. The first attempt to deliberate systematically over social pedagogy was undertaken by the German philosopher and educationalist Natorp around the turn of the last century. In his view, the education of children and adults had to contribute to bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, a gap that threatened the German nation as a community. In its extreme form, it became, during the Nazi-era, education by the state for the state.

After the First World War, however, another 'socio-pedagogical movement' of an entirely different character had come into being, aimed only at youth. According to this movement, the badly educated young were not a menace to the community, it was the other way around: youth had to be protected against society. Seen from this angle, social pedagogy was a distinct component of education, a field with a task of its own. An "early form of youth welfare work became the first program of social pedagogy" (Dibbits, 1978, p. 22).

In the Netherlands, however, social pedagogy was barely subjected to theoretical scrutiny before 1940. As a university discipline, it received its first opportunity to develop after the Second World War, with the advent of the modern welfare state. Thanks to indigenous efforts and assistance provided by the U.S.A. within the context of the Marshall Plan, the reconstruction of the Netherlands was successfully accomplished. The emerging welfare state attempted to help those who did not benefit directly from the economic upturn. Social and educational activities were viewed as modest but essential parts of the total package of services that should provide well-being 'from the cradle to the grave'. The economic support received from the Marshall Plan was accompanied by the import of American ideas in these fields. Many Dutch scholars toured the U.S.A. and returned with enthusiastic reports about the advantages of social casework for public assistance, and of social group work for adult education. Community organization was welcomed as a way to coordinate the efforts of social work and adult education in old city centers and new rural areas. The then recent field of personnel management was greatly influenced by the school of 'human relations'.

In 1950 Ten Have was appointed professor at the chair of social pedagogy at the University of Amsterdam. In the beginning, Dutch social pedagogy combined the two trends that had divided socio-pedagogical thinking during the inter-war years in Germany. Specific tasks in the field of welfare work for youth and adults were formulated, but at the same time, the general ideal of a true community in a 'resurrecting Netherlands' was propagated. Gradually, however, a more pragmatic approach prevailed and a theoretical and practical distinction was made between activities directed at children and those directed at adults. The theoretical foundation for the scientific study of andragogy was laid in 1960 by Ten Have in a major article, published in the periodical Volksopvoeding [Popular Education] (Ten Have, 1960). A few years later, Ten Have proposed three different terms:

1) 'Andragogie' [andragogy] denotes the practice of social and educational work with adults.
2) 'Andragogiek' [andragogic] refers to a normative theory on behalf of the art of social work and adult education. In such a prescriptive doctrine, which is meant to serve as a guideline for practitioners, specific assumptions or statements on the nature of adults, the preferred educational goals and the best didactic methods should be combined in a systematic manner. In this way, one can distinguish several 'andragogics' for social work or adult education, each based on different normative choices. In the field of social work, for example, social casework can be seen as such an andragogic. Likewise, Pöggeler (1957, p. 179) propounded a Roman Catholic 'Andragogik' in the field of German adult education.
3) Andragologie [andragology] denotes the science (in Greek: 'logos') of adult education (cf. psychology or sociology).

From this Dutch point of view, the well-known definition by Knowles (1970, p. 38) of andragogy as "the art and science of helping adults learn" is an unfortunate one. In the first place, the Greek neologism 'andragogy' refers, strictly speaking, not to the art or the science of helping adults learn, but to the practice of teaching adults. In the second place, by using only one term, Knowles obscures the difference between a normative art and the science of adult education. Knowles' approach is in many ways a specimen of a prescriptive 'humanistic andragogic'. In the same way, Mezirow's 'Charter for Andragogy' can be considered as a 'critical andragogic', based on the 'critical theory' of the Frankfurt School and the more recent publications of Habermas (Mezirow 1983). Since these distinctions between 'andragogy', 'andragogic' and 'andragology', however, are not generally known outside the Netherlands and Germany, the term 'andragogy' will still have to be used for each case.

Ten Have's efforts to achieve conceptual clarity were followed with great interest by the schools of social work that were rapidly growing at that time, and by those who were active in social and educational work with adults, and who, in their striving for more professional recognition, wanted an even more restricted territory of their own than social pedagogy could offer. As a result of their combined forces, a new Department of Andragogy was founded in 1966 at the University of Amsterdam, next to a restructured Department of Pedagogy. In 1970, a Royal Decree amended the Academic Law and authorized the study of andragogy at every Dutch university. In the accompanying explanatory memorandum, the connection was drawn between andragogy as a social science and the fields of social work, personnel management, community organization and adult education. For a country in which the state has a heavy say in matters of education, this governmental recognition was a necessary condition.

Andragogy as an Autonomous Discipline

The young science was immediately popular. Students came flocking to the new departments, and the government was willing to provide the required funds. From its early beginnings, however, andragogy had to deal with a fundamental problem of integration. Social work, adult education and relative newcomers like personnel management and community organization did not form a homogeneous entity of coherent activities. They were a conglomerate of various kinds of work, each with its own history and distinct pursuit, while even within these separate kinds of work numerous differentiations had developed over time. But many people who were involved in social and educational work with adults at a practical and/or theoretical level, were eager to develop new integrative activities, now that the bonds with 'genuine' socio-pedagogical work, aimed specifically at youth, had been cut. The advantages of a combined approach seemed to outweigh the disadvantages in many ways. The clients of social work, community organization and adult education, for example, often belong to the same social stratum. Their needs could be more effectively met by a well-planned mixture of strategies.

For some years the context of the Dutch welfare state provided a favorable climate for integration. In a booming economy, sufficient financial room existed for experiments, even when the pay-offs might not be immediate. For, of course, the process of professionalization cannot derive only from the sheer ambition of practitioners and academics, who for many reasons seek a territory of their own and improvement of their standing. It should always be seen within the specific historical, cultural, economic, and political context of a particular society. The academic recognition of andragogy in the Netherlands was the outcome of professional striving, socio-cultural acceptance and governmental support.

In his search for a new science, capable of bringing together the different notions, methods and strategies of social work, personnel management, community organization and adult education, Ten Have (1973) was greatly influenced by American publications on 'planned change'. The Dynamics of Planned Change by Lippitt, Watson & Westley (1958) served for a long time as the main textbook of the new curriculum. In many ways, Ten Have followed their example when they stated: "Not only is the number of professional helpers increasing very rapidly, but the specialised skills and techniques presented for our consideration offer extraordinary variety. What we attempt in this book is to clarify and compare these many different skills and theories, to look for contrasts and similarities among them, and to assist in the development of a general theory of change" (Lippitt, Watson & Westley, 1958, pp. 3-4). As a result, the social worker and the adult educator became an 'andragogue', and the 'andragogue' turned into a professional 'change agent'.

Andragogy was considered to be a 'social technology', based on a neo-positivist philosophy of science, which allowed little or no room for discussions about values. Group dynamics became the instrumental heart of the new discipline. Facilitating the adaptation of individuals in 'a world of rapid change' and overcoming their resistance were considered to be the most important goals. Andragogy was seen as the lubricating oil which could keep the machinery of the societal system turning. It did not take long before signals of severe criticism could be heard. They were primarily uttered by students who had been tempted by the idea of societal change, but who were soon to find out that planned change meant above all adjustment to the predominant values and goals. Inspired by the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School like Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse and Habermas, they called for a 'critical' andragogy which would further individual and social emancipation instead of simple adaptation to technological change (Van Beugen, 1972).

At the same time, another school of critical thought, greatly influenced by Popper's critical rationalism, joined the discussions. It declared itself against both the neo-positivism of the planned change approach and the critical theory of the Frankfurt School (Van Gent, 1973). Very soon afterwards, a fourth school which had taken orthodox marxism as its model, became popular in most departments of andragogy in the Netherlands. Andragogy was now transformed into a politicized science, engaged in the struggle for an alternative society (Michielse, 1977). In this approach, practical interventions were seen to be more important than empirical research. Meanwhile, a new trend in andragogy that leaned heavily on more recent publications by Habermas on communication theory, action philosophy and hermeneutics received considerable academic respect (Nijk, 1978). This form of 'andragogy as a theory of action', however, was too abstract to gain a large audience among practitioners.

Back to Pedagogy

Andragogy was caught in the middle of a battle over ideological, theoretical and meta-theoretical issues. In order to protect its respective territory, each 'school' used a discourse which was for outsiders, incomprehensible jargon. The small academic community, which at first had tried to develop andragogy as an empirical discipline within the framework of the social sciences, had fallen apart. The all too rapid recognition of andragogy as an autonomous discipline and its immediate popularity with students proved also to be a severe handicap. The lack of a disciplinary tradition, specifically trained faculty, and adequate textbooks had resulted in a faceless curriculum. In a way, everybody was free to pursue his or her own original discipline or subject-matter, and call it 'andragogy'.

The turbulent events around the young science had given andragogy a bad reputation with the Governing Boards of the different universities. Within the Faculties of Social Sciences, andragogy and its speedy succession of changing disciplinary identities had become a target for mockery.

In the mid-seventies, the edifice of the Dutch welfare state began to show many fissures. A major economic crisis and a changing socio-cultural climate put an end to the belief in a 'planned society'. The welfare state was transformed into a 'caring community', based on the old ideology of the private citizen who is driven by love to the service of his fellow human beings (Van Gent, 1987). Volunteers took the place of many professionals. To an increasing extent, the remaining professionals working in fields like social work and adult education went their separate ways. Each sought shelter under the umbrella of the so-called hard institutions that were less threatened by financial cuts.

Social work went looking for help from the traditional safe world of medicine. The loss of faith in the possibility of constructing a socio-cultural environment meant the end of community organization. Adult education moved in the direction of regular primary, secondary and higher education, or vocational training, where the quest for diplomas and certificates is predominant. Only personnel management within economically strong organizations remained relatively unshattered. The ideal of an integrated practice of social and educational work had perished.

It was a regrettable coincidence that the growing pressure exerted by the Dutch government on the universities to engage in 'hard' endeavors dealt a further blow to andragogy. Quantitative methodology - supposedly more scientific - was given preference over the use of qualitative means of gaining knowledge; involvement in the research process by the beneficiaries of the findings was scorned.

In accordance with the rule of 'last hired, first fired', disciplines like psychology and sociology with their established professional associations, refereed journals and international contacts, offered a safer home than a newcomer like andragogy, which was weakened by internal strife and could not yet provide the traditional characteristics of professional accomplishment and standing. Departments of Andragogy were closed down or were confronted with considerable budgetary reductions. A new amendment to the Academic Law, issued in 1985, deprived Dutch andragogy of its status as an autonomous discipline. What remained of Dutch andragogy was sent back to pedagogy.

The Future of Dutch Andragogy

The Dutch use of the word 'andragogy' as a comprehensive concept that covers a wide range of activities, was apparently not successful. During a period of economic hardship, the dividing lines between social work and adult education became all too clear.

Andragogy as it is propagated by Knowles in the form of a specific doctrine to guide practitioners, suffers from the fact that social conditions and cultural trends are subject to rapid change. The success of critical theory as a new paradigm for adult education, first in Europe and later in North America, makes that abundantly clear. If the word 'andragogy' has any future, it can only be in the form of a generic term for adult education and as a complement to pedagogy. A distinction between pedagogy and andragogy should not be derived from an identification of the first with tradition and content, and of the second with progress and process. A division of labour between pedagogy and andragogy is primarily connected with "the nature of child and adult and their respective positions in society" (Ten Have, 1972, p. 60). A child is on its way to adulthood. The relationships of authority between parents or teachers and children are different from those between educators and adults. In this respect, the contrast between compulsory and voluntary education has also to be taken into account. The concept of andragogy as a synonym for adult education, however, is not without complication. In the Netherlands as in many other countries, the term 'adult education' itself covers a wide range of divergent activities such as personal development, formal education and vocational training.

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WOMEN'S VOICES, WOMEN'S LIVES: THEMES FROM WOMEN'S TWENTY-FIVE YEAR CORRESPONDENCE

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This interpretive study seeks to understand common patterns in the lives of eighteen women as revealed in their annual correspondence over a quarter century. This analysis emphasizes themes of connection and continuity, balancing responsibility, making a difference, and disruption in personal lives, work, and relationships.

Edna St. Vincent Millay's volume of poems Wine from these Grapes challenges the reader to find larger significance in the totality of the collection rather than probe individual poems for meaning. The 1934 edition dust jacket reads: "The wine from these grapes is rare and precious, something to be tasted again and again and something to be long remembered." Likewise, this search for meaning in a set of women's letters focuses on the total body of correspondence rather than on individual life stories. The letters are studied to understand the life experiences and personal reflections shared in a rare and precious correspondence spanning a quarter century.

This interpretive analysis, representing the first phase of a larger study, seeks to identify common patterns from the collective commentary of life events and observations of one group of women, born in the early 1940s, who grew to middle age in the second half of the twentieth century. The written reflections of the eighteen may provide valuable insight into what Brookfield (1987) calls the significant personal learning of adulthood.

Studying the Lives

The text for this study is a set of 232 individual letters written between the years 1968 and 1992. The writers, who attended a mid-size midwestern university and graduated in 1963, have written annually to share a summary of life events, important readings, and personal observations. The first call for letters went out five years after their college graduation. The process is on-going. Individuals send their contributions to a volunteer "annual editor" who compiles the letters in a packet and sends copies to all eighteen. While not every woman writes every year, no one is ever excluded from the mailing.

The women were not originally friends. While most of them became acquainted in 1959, their relationship solidified when they were selected for Mortar Board, a senior women's honor society, in the spring of 1962 in recognition of their demonstrated leadership, academic achievement, and service to the university.

All eighteen are white and middle class. Within ten years of their college graduation, all had married and all but four had children. All eighteen were employed out of the home immediately before and after they got married. Fourteen had jobs in teaching or the helping professions while four worked in business. Nearly three-quarters have described themselves as full time wives and mothers for some period when their children were young. Twelve have earned advanced degrees. Eight have been divorced, all after ten years or more of marriage. Four have remarried.

The methodology derives from the circumstances and challenges surrounding the text. It is fortuitous that the collection of letters exists intact, and the women, with one exception, are living. The women are studied for an understanding of their lives and ideas without an attempt to explain or generalize to other women. This paper is based on successive readings of the text with letters grouped by year and also by individual correspondent. In the larger study, the text will be entered on The Ethnograph, a program for the computer-assisted analysis of text based data, and coded using the themes and concepts identified in this first phase. Since the collection of letters serves the function of capturing the past, each of the women will be invited to read the analysis of themes and comment on the ideas in a personal or telephone interview.

Six assumptions underlie this study. First, understanding the past lived experience of women is a relevant way to gain knowledge for the future. Second, understanding the experiences and reflections of a small group of relatively homogeneous women has value. Third, self-reflection is a legitimate way to make meaning out of experience. Fourth, the women have shared and reported the truth about themselves as they understood it at the time. Fifth, my own experience as a member of the group increases my understandings of intersubjective meanings in the correspondence and interview text. Last, it is important to leave my own letters in the text base; to remove them would alter the text in a fundamental way.

Commentary to authenticate the analysis is a hermeneutic experience rather than a data collecting one. The discourse centers on discovering meaning. The task is to be still, to listen, and to be taught by the voices of the women as recorded over the years.

Hearing the Voices

Several patterns emerge, three of which are shared and link the women, and one which differentiates and separates the women. The linking themes include (1) connection and continuity of relationships, (2) the struggle to find balance amid responsibility and (3) a passion to make a difference. The separating theme is the presence or absence of disruption and personal tragedy.

The value of connection and the continuity of relationships is expressed by all of the women in a variety of ways over time. The letters themselves create expressions of joy as well as amazement at the group cohesion over time. The importance of friends, especially old ones made in adolescence and young adulthood, is a recurrent theme. Old relationships and their basis for being are trusted in a fundamental way. It suggests a special kind of affirmation to see one's life moving along in ways parallel to people who knew the basic, core self of girlhood before it was laden with roles of wife and mother.

> It seems to me that my self twelve or thirteen years ago was still hardly there enough to get to know. That is, so many experiences that really make one become an adult human being with a self happen after school is all over with. Obviously the nucleus of "me" was there, but so much more of me appeared or grew later. (Leah, 1976)

> Actually sitting down to write these letters is much more difficult than mentally composing paragraphs as I have been doing for weeks, driving in the car or sitting on the deck after work relaxing. Perhaps it's because each year they become more valuable, and we want to do it "well"! (Dot, 1986)

Lack of connection creates feelings of sadness and isolation. The insularity of middle class white women living in self-contained nuclear units without the kinship of extended families has been contrasted to the shared living spaces, shared responsibilities, and supportive relationships of African American women (Joseph & Lewis, 1981). The Mortar Board letters describe wives and mothers sequestered at the center of a nuclear family consciously working to maintain some individual connection and support.

> How I have looked forward to continuing this curious thread of thoughts from a group of girls thrown together at one point in our lives. . . Personally, the past ten years have been a rollercoaster -- marriage, babies, illness, understanding, biting my lip and looking forever like I knew what I was doing -- and always flexible. (Clare, 1973)

The struggle to find balance amid responsibility is unrelenting. Care for others is assumed and responsibility welcomed. But the boundaries between care for self versus others and the limits of responsibility are uncertain. The women discuss how intentional relationships become reactive and taken for granted. While family interdependence and motherhood have great value, a high price is paid in terms of personal time and recognition.

> The mothering on the other hand has not been so easy. I am feeding her pureed Adelle Davis, but there are times when I feel like substituting ground glass and cat hairs, and I crave sleep like a drunk craves hootch. (Eve, 1977)

> I am confused a lot about things I would think an adult should be sure.

> The concept of responsibility is often the conundrum for me -- to whom? to self? to mate? to children? to other commitments? (Kate, 1982)

> I loved being married . . . I hope I have an opportunity to work at a marriage again, but I know I would do some things differently. I would not submerge by own identity as much in a husband's, and I would not limit myself by doing things with him or not at all. . . I would also, I hope, be able to accept him as he is, and not try to mold him into an image of what I thought a husband should be. (Leah, 1980)

Many of the women experienced a sense of being used. They noted that they had no good models to teach them the proper balance. The migrant worker allusion is a good one:

> This has been a rather domestic year. Too domestic at times when I have three weeping-wailing children confronting me. Last summer while I was busy freezing millions of green beans, tomatoes, carrots, beets, beans, and making applesauce, grape jelly, peach preserves and catsup, husband was industriously planting more strawberries, dwarf fruit trees, grape vines, raspberry bushes, plus hoeing and harvesting. At times I felt like a migrant worker picking beans. (Ruth, 1974)

The women express a passion to do things of value, to make a difference. The expectation of contribution to family and community as well as personal accomplishment is unrelenting. They read, take classes, and study with the expressed purpose of being able to do more things for others in better ways. They have high standards and are their own harshest critics. They expect themselves to play every role with precision and to accomplish every goal with grace.

> I never realized what an impact my Mother and her family have had on me. . . She wouldn't laugh at my being totally at home in gardening boots, worn corduroy pants and an even more threadbare Navy shetland. . .Or, gearing up in a long dress, rustling petticoats, and kid gloves. She was part of the "Never complain, never explain" generation. I was too, until recently. (Clare, 1987)

The women struggle to understand how the outside world assesses their achievement. In college they were rewarded for academic excellence, leadership, and service, and they left certain they could live up to standard male measures of success. Then they changed their names, put the careers of spouses first, and left paid employment to raise children. They achieved a big piece of the 1950's Great American Dream, but they were keenly aware that the time, energy, skill, and dedication they lavished on children, home, husband, and community was not valued in the same way paid work was.

The experience of personal tragedy and major life disruptions separates the women into the "haves" and "have nots." The group is about evenly split between those who report painful losses (divorces, deaths) or personal tragedies (eating disorder, alcoholism, AIDS) and those who describe relatively tranquil life experiences. The sharing of personal tragedy has been one of the factors that moved the letters from child/family centered in the 1970s to self centered in the 1980s. It is an aspect that needs further analysis.

Connections to a Theory Base

In periodic readings of the letters, the themes of several researchers and writers appear. One of the most significant outcomes of an analysis of the letters would be to find substantiation or repudiation of an existing theory base related to women's development and lifelong learning. Studies in the 1970s articulated a framework to explore the ways of knowing and being in the world that are characteristically, although not exclusively, female. During the 1980s, students of human development, psychology, and education explored women's relationships with self, family and work.

Carol Gilligan and her colleagues have developed a body of research documenting a post-conventional moral ethic expressed in terms of care and responsibility (Gilligan, 1979, 1982, 1988). Women understand dilemmas and see their options based on values of attachment. They make decisions based on their understanding of responsibility whereas males taught to value independence justify moral decisions on precepts of justice and individual rights. The Emma Willard School study of adolescent girls (Gilligan, 1990) begins to connect women's development to adolescent learning and the ways in which moral development influences important decisions and behavior.

Mary Belenky, Blythe Clinchy, Nancy Goldberger and Jill Tarule (1986) interviewed 135 women enrolled in academic institutions and formal community education programs to discover how women viewed learning and knowing. They concluded that educational as traditionally defined and practiced minimizes women's preferences for cooperation and support while dismissing holistic thinking and intuitive understanding.

Iris Sanguiliano (1978) writes that the two constant characteristics of women's lives over the life span are disruption and discontinuity. Because women make decisions based primarily on the relationships they form, their decisions and actions stem not from the internal motivations but from events in the lives of husbands, lovers and children. Hence women spend their energy responding to events that constantly disrupt the flow of their personal lives. Their strength, she notes, is not so much in their decisions as in their ability to weather discontinuity, make sense of the changing world around them, and provide stability for others.

Understanding the voices and the lives shared in the letters between friends over time has implications for educational and social policy for adults as well as education for mothers with daughters. The preliminary readings raise worthy questions that need to be considered in more systematic analysis.

How do women learn what they need to know to accomplish the most important tasks of their adult life? What are the most important tasks? Are they individual or relational? In the domain of personal, family, work, or community? The letters suggest that what is most important and challenging to the women has little to do with their formal education as young people or adults.

Is there a pattern in the lives of eighteen women so similar in many ways? They live and work in communities in thirteen states, and they do not communicate to any significant degree except through the annual letters. What do they have in common at age 50?

What is the significance of the correspondence after all these years? Why do they continue to write? What do the letters mean to them? Why have women who stopped writing for six and twelve years begun to write again? Is there a common thread of meaning understood by all the women, or does each woman have her own personal reasons for writing? These are but a few of the tantalizing questions with which to frame future readings of the letters.

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SCIENCE AND THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF AMERICAN ADULT EDUCATION, 1934-1989: A STUDY OF KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT IN THE ADULT EDUCATION HANDBOOKS

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Empirical-analytic science has been central to the definition and professionalization of the field of American adult education since the 1930s.

Habermas (1971) has argued that knowledge cannot exist independently of the interests that create it. He claims that human interests, which he describes as human social needs for reproduction and preservation, tremendously mediate the construction of knowledge. His now famous thesis posits three types of knowledge created to serve three sets of human interests: empirical-analytic to serve technical or instrumental interests of control, practical or interpersonal to serve interests of understanding and communication, and critical to serve interests of liberation. While Habermas (1984) has subsequently altered the emphases of this thesis, he has retained the fundamental principle that the construction of knowledge remains inevitably linked to the human interests that produce it for particular purposes.

One way to understand the development of the field of American adult education since the 1930s, particularly the types of knowledge it values, is to examine the field from the point of view of the interests that it has characteristically served. A number of adult education writers have advanced related ideas about historical shifts in the types of knowledge valued in the field of adult education. Although not always expressing themselves in an explicitly Habermasian vocabulary, the contentions of these writers can be seen to reflect Habermas' essential thesis regarding the relationship between knowledge and human interests. A review of some of these contributors suggests three themes about the interests of adult educators and the knowledge constructed to serve those interests. First is the claim that twentieth century adult education, while emerging in the social movements in the early part of the century, subsequently forfeited (some would say severed) those roots in an attempt to legitimize and professionalize itself (Cunningham, 1989). Second is the claim that the legitimation process occurred in the 1950s through the 1970s when the field itself became an object of study and began to focus more on technical and instrumental interests of providing educational service rather than engaging issues of social import (Brookfield, 1989; Cunningham, 1989; Law, 1988; Welton, 1987). A third theme is that the 1980s have seen indications of a renewed interest with some of the alleged emancipatory interests of earlier in the century (Law, 1988; Welton, 1987). Implicit with each thesis is the notion that legitimate knowledge is changing accordingly.

Is there a way to see the historical development of these interests and their effect on the construction of knowledge in adult education? In the study from which this paper is extracted, I examined the construction of knowledge in the field of adult education from the 1930s through the 1980s (Wilson, 1991) by conducting an ideological analysis (Gilbert, 1989) of the content of the adult education handbooks from a Habermasian epistemological perspective. A major finding of that study was that technical interests of empirical-analytic science, as defined by Habermas, have dominated the construction of knowledge in American adult education in the twentieth century. In the first part of this paper I will briefly present an epistemological characterization of each of the handbooks based on that study. Using this depiction, I will argue that as early as the 1930s adult educators had begun to rely upon empirical-analytic knowledge to define and organize the field of American adult education and that by 1948 this empirical-analytic interest became central to a set of "common concerns," evidenced consistently from 1948 to the present in a concern with professionalizing adult education practice through empirical-analytic science. Because empirical-analytic interests are epistemologically and practically linked to issues of control, I will argue in second part of this paper that science has been used by an emerging professoriate to control the development of a body of knowledge to be used for the professional practice of adult education in order to control a share of an educational service economy. Thus, this paper will use an historical issue to pose an epistemological analysis of the construction of knowledge in American adult education.

Empirical-Analytic Science, Professionalization, and the Adult Education Handbooks

The 1934 and 1936 handbooks can be seen as early attempts to systematically array knowledge about the field of adult education. These two handbooks are nearly identical in form, content, and intent. They are written almost exclusively by institutionally-based representatives of different organizational and programmatic interests in adult education. Because of the institutional location of the writers, much of the knowledge presented is derived from the practice of these institutional contributors; that is, the knowledge presented in the handbooks represents the experience of practitioners practicing in explicit areas of adult education in the 1930s such as settlement organizations, worker education, Americanization programs. This anecdotal information is countered, though, by the explicit use of quantitative descriptions of institutional and programmatic manifestations of adult education in the 1930s. In fact, the handbooks themselves, both in their individual entries as well as their overall effect, are largely directories or catalogs of those organizations and programs, accomplished chiefly by short, narrative descriptions followed by extensive listings of exemplars. Thus these two handbooks provide a medium for presenting what Cartwright called the "facts" of adult education. These "facts" are fundamentally defined as the enumeration of the programmatic presence of adult education in the American institutional life of the 1930s. Many of the entries in these two handbooks are based on "surveys of various aspects of activity . . . descriptive and critical reports on specific enterprises . . . and research studies in theory or practice" which are essential to "creating a body of sound theory and constructive practice" (Beals, 1936, p. 13). Their significance lies in their early use of survey research, which chiefly focuses on counting and identifying elements of the field, in order to define the contours and parameters of adult education.

The 1948 edition is perhaps the pivotal piece in the emergence of empirical-analytic knowledge as the basis for professionalizing the practice of adult education. While still retaining the heritage of content and form of the 1930s editions, this volume represents a transition because both its content and form also become a precursor for all subsequent editions. The significance of the 1948 edition lies in describing and categorizing the field in terms of "common concerns," institutions, and programs. The notion of common concerns is especially important because it is the first organizational and topic indicator of the field's interest in professionalizing its practice by defining a core body of knowledge through empirical-analytic science. Significantly, Hallenbeck (1948) connects the professionalization of the field with training adult educators. Defining adult education as a "function and a process, not an end" (1948, p. 245), Hallenbeck proposes the specific body of knowledge to be used in training adult educators: history and philosophy of adult education, adult psychology and learning, methods and materials, and program administration (these had been typical adult education courses in colleges and universities in the 1930s). Thus Hallenbeck delineates the categories, that is the common concerns, around which the field will be increasingly organized in subsequent editions. It is in this respect that embryonic discussions of adult education as a general process, irrespective of institutional or programmatic context, begin to emerge. Simultaneously, specific research studies begin to propose principles for the scientific practice of adult education. Thus this edition foreshadows how the field of adult education itself is becoming an object of study. The effect of these common concerns and the organizational scheme of the 1948 edition is to demonstrate a definitional order to the field, that is, to make an effort to define and integrate its diverse elements by articulating it as a scientific process rather than as a set of exemplars.

The inchoate transitions of the 1948 edition fully emerge in the 1960 edition. In solidifying the changes of 1948, the 1960 edition squarely locates the use of empirical-analytic knowledge as central to the definition and professionalization of adult education. While continuing the convention of presenting the field as theory, programs, and institutions, the dominant concern of this handbook is to develop the scientific study and definition of the field through systematic, empiric study in order to professionalize its practice. Scientific research is thus proposed in this handbook as solving problems of practice. Scientifically resolving practice problems is routinely connected to professionalization. Houle (1960) laments the lack of professionalization in adult education because "many of the fundamental principles which underlie successful theory and practice have yet to be discovered" (p. 128). Thus the common concern continues to be the definition of the field by developing empirically based principles of practice, which Kreitlow (1960, p. 115) refers to as "a common frame of reference." Consequently, survey research studies dominate this edition, which Kreitlow argues is essential in order that "hypotheses . . . be established . . . that can be tested experimentally" (1960, p. 108). The result of this research is to develop scientifically tested principles that will improve the practice of adult education by contributing to the development of a core body of professional knowledge. Because this edition represents the culmination of emergent patterns from earlier editions and sets the pattern for later ones, it signals the end of the first phase of the evolution of the adult education handbooks. With the categorical parameters established in this edition, adult education successfully negotiates the transition from being a field of practice to a field of study. While the professional anxieties regarding this transition have continued to plague the field since 1960, the evidence of this handbook in conjunction with subsequent editions indicates how successful this edition was in achieving an empirical-analytic ideology of the field in terms of defining common programmatic, institutional, and theoretical concerns.

These categories of definition and professionalization, constructed through the use of empirical-analytic research, became the primary conceptual categories of the remaining three handbooks. Thus, the subsequent editions of the handbook in 1970, 1980-81, and 1989 neither challenge the professional reliance upon empirical-analytic knowledge nor significantly alter the organizational scheme of common concerns established in 1948 and 1960. The dominant concern of the 1970 handbook remains identical to the 1960 edition: to bring conceptual order to the field through research in order to professionalize its practice. Schroeder argues that from 1930 to 1946 the field began to search for a definition and that the "period 1947-1964 was characterized by intensified movement toward greater professionalism and . . . a proliferation of written materials concerned with definitions and delineation of adult education as a field of research, professional study and practice" (1970, p. 27). Developing a body of "tested" knowledge and disseminating it to practitioners is the central mission of adult education as a field of study in 1970. Continuing the precedent of 1960, the 1970 handbook demonstrates its chief function is to report research.

Although the 1980-81 multi-volume handbook appears at first to significantly alter the established traditions of the handbooks, it actually is the most pronounced example of the dominance of empirical-analytic knowledge in adult education. It is almost exclusively focused on empirically developing theory and principles of practice in adult education. Continuing the concerns of previous editions, this edition is replete with injunctions for defining the field by developing a body of knowledge based in empirical-analytic research that will produce a unifying order which will professionalize practice. Peters sets the orientation of this handbook by connecting the use of research to bringing more unity to the field in order to continue its professionalization: "Few tasks are as challenging to the adult educator as the problem of finding order with the collage of organizations, programs, clientele, and concepts that depicts the nature of adult education" (1980, p. xi). Finding order is the essential mission of this edition. In response to this major concern regarding unity, the 1980-81 edition is in a profound sense attempting to conceptualize the entire field as an integrated entity (such as Boyd and Apps' transactional model, Peters' systems theory, or Schroeder's typology of learning systems). In effect, this edition completes the adoption of the empirical-analytic model of knowledge first intimated in the 1930s, for its scholars attempt to integrate the entire field using theoretical propositions supported by research as well as to indicate directions for continued systematic inquiry. Defining the field from a unified perspective in order to develop tested, empirical propositions is central to the field's identity.

The significant aspect of the 1989 handbook is that it explicitly reinvokes the organizational and definitional parameters adumbrated in 1948, fully realized in 1960, and conventionalized by 1970: common concerns, institutions, and program areas. The difference in this handbook is that the field is contemplated from both a sense of unity and a sense of diversity. Common concerns for all adult educators are focused on those issues dealing with the professional practice of adult education and the educational process: "What adult educators do constitutes a common core of practice that unites an otherwise diverse field" (Merriam & Cunningham, 1989, p. xvii). Central to all practice is an interest in facilitating adult learning and designing effective programming. These concerns are presented as transcending what Merriam and Cunningham describe as "the staggering number of diverse institutions" (1989, p. 273) and program areas of adult education. In order to define both the diversity and the unity of the field in terms of a body of knowledge, the contributors continue to rely as in past editions almost exclusively on empirical-analytic knowledge. The significant change in this edition, however, is a focus on presenting definitional classifications of adult education programs, institutions, and theory rather than on developing principles of practice. That is, the central intent is to provide classifications of practice based on literature reviews of research and thought. Beginning in the 1930s as programmatic and institutional catalogs, the handbooks have become by 1989 episodic statements of the definitional character of the field based on bibliographic collections of the field's most recent research.

Empirical-Analytic Science and the Control of Professionalization

The central premises of Habermas' epistemology is that knowledge exists to further some human purpose. In terms of empirical-analytic knowledge, that human interest is control. Empirical-analytic knowledge is instrumental in that it functions to control something. The question then becomes what has the dominance of empirical-analytic knowledge in adult education been designed to control.

The answer to that question has to do with the control of knowledge itself and thus the control of the professionalization process of adult education. The handbooks demonstrate very clearly how empirical-analytic knowledge has been used to define the field and thus control the development of knowledge and professionalization. Larson (1979) argues that, in order for a profession to transact its service in a market economy, it has to develop standardized forms of knowledge upon which to base its service and it has to standardize the practice of the service in order that it become a recognizable commodity in a service economy. The foremost task of the handbooks is to define the field in order to provide an identifiable body of knowledge that will standardize the training of adult educators, which, by standardizing practice, makes adult education an identifiable service commodity. Schon (1983) details how theory is to be developed scientifically in research institutions and applied to well-defined problems by practitioners: "professional activity consists in instrumental problem solving made rigorous by the application of scientific theory and technique" (Schon, 1983, p. 21). The handbooks explicitly demonstrate this as their chief function.

In fact, the emancipatory social movement heritage fails to make any noticeable appearance in the handbook content. The virtual absence of any critical knowledge until the last two editions in the 1980s, along with the pervasive dominance of empirical-analytic knowledge, indicates that evidence for connecting the field of adult education to emancipatory interests has no presence in the adult education handbooks. Thus I want to argue that there has been no shift in modern times (dated from the 1920s on) of the field from technical interests to emancipatory ones. In Habermas' terms, the knowledge base of the field as represented in the handbooks has been decidedly instrumental since the 1920s. The field has exclusively relied upon empirical-analytic knowledge since its first systematic attempts to define itself. In the process the field has chosen to ignore, that is, fail to report on, whatever interest and evidence might exist to connect it with emancipatory pursuits. In fact, the field's philosophy has had a decidedly non-liberatory intention to it. From the 1934 edition on, the field has distinctly and consistently articulated a social philosophy for guiding practice that seeks ameliorative and integrative adjustment of disparate individuals and groups into the social, economic, and political mainstream of American society. Social reform, as evident in every handbook edition's liberal progressive ideology, is social adjustment (Feinberg, 1975).

This analysis of the handbook epistemology indicates that the field of adult education has relied upon empirical-analytic knowledge since its earliest attempts to systematically define the field, at least as far as reporting that knowledge in the handbooks is concerned. If that is an accurate depiction, then we have to consider the purposes to which that knowledge is directed. Habermas argues that control is the human interest in empirical-analytic knowledge. In adult education, empirical-analytic knowledge is being developed by university researchers in order to define and control the knowledge upon which the profession is based. Controlling knowledge production is essential to defining what constitutes the profession. Empirical-analytic knowledge has been essential to the development of a unique body of knowledge, to the training of its practitioners, and thus to the development of adult education as a profession.

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PREDICTING PARTICIPATION IN CONTINUING EDUCATION: AN EXTENDED EXPECTANCY-VALUE MODEL

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Data from a prospective survey of veterinarians was used to test two competing models of behavioral intention. The Triandis model proved to have greater predictive utility than the Fishbein model, accounting for over 57% of the variance in intention to participate. The study extends existing research by identifying essential social psychological variables for inclusion in the development of a future theoretical model of CPE participation.

Investigating the nature of voluntary participation continues to be one of the most important research areas in adult and continuing education. Understandably a great deal of effort has been made over the last three decades to develop models of adult education participation (AEP) that would explain or predict participation. In 1979, Rubenson formulated an Expectancy-Valence model based on the work of Lewin (1947) and Vroom (1964). The basic assumptions of the model being that human behavior can be understood in terms of the interaction between the individual and the environment and that participation in adult education meets peoples' needs or provides satisfaction. Groteluschen and Caulley (1977) introduced expectancy-value theory to continuing professional education (CPE) using Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) behavioral intention theory. Ray (1981) tested this model and reported that previous participation in CPE explained 37% of the variance in intention to participate, while the expectancy-value model explained only 10%. Ray's study was not an adequate test of the theory's utility. Pryor (1990), with the same model and methodology used regression of intention on semantic differential measures of predictor variables and reported that the model accounted for over 41% of the variance in intention to participate.

Fishbein's traditional expectancy-value model hypothesizes that behavior is largely determined by beliefs (operationalized as expectancy-value) and that one's belief system is unidimensional (treating different beliefs equally). Since there are other competing behavioral intention models and attitude toward adult education is probably multidimensional (Blunt, 1983; Hayes & Darkenwald, 1990), it is worthwhile to continue to explore the relationship between attitude and participation from a broad theoretical basis.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate CPE participation prospectively from a broad theoretical basis of attitude and behavior to: a) extend the current expectancy-value model in the CPE literature, b) provide a means of testing the predictive utility of specific participation models, and c) examine the participation attitude and behavior of a sample of veterinarians in an organized CPE program.

Theoretical Foundations

Attitude has been conceptualized as having three intercorrelated and distinct components: Affect, Cognition and Behavior (Bagozzi, 1981; Brecker, 1984). Here Affect means sympathetic nervous responses, Cognition refers to perceptual responses or verbal statements of belief, and Behavior represents the overt actions associated with the attitude.

Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) advanced a theoretical statement on attitude behavior relations which posits that intention to perform a given behavior can be expressed as a linear combination of attitudes toward the behavior and subjective norms regarding the behavior. Intentions, in this framework, are seen as the "immediate determinants of the corresponding overt behaviors" (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, p. 375). The model can be expressed by the formula:

$$B \sim I = w_1\text{¥}(A_{act}) + w_2\text{¥}(SNB\text{¥}MC)$$

where B=overt behavior;
I=the behavioral intention to perform the behavior;
A= the attitude toward performing the behavior; and
SNB¥MC=the subjective normative beliefs and motivations to comply.

Furthermore, a person's attitude toward a specific act (Aact), is proposed to be a function of the act's perceived consequences and of their value to the individual. This was conceptualized in terms of an expectancy-value model:

$$Aact = SB_i a_i$$

Bi refers to the individual's belief about the probability that the behavior will result in consequence "i",
ai is the individual's evaluation of consequence "i".

Developed from cross cultural research investigating the effect of social psychological variables on intercultural interactions, the Triandis' (1977) theoretical model differs from that of Fishbein and Ajzen. Triandis hypothesizes that behavior is determined by intention and habits, and that the intentions are influenced by four variables as summarized in the formula:

$$\mathbf{B = w_1 \yen(I) + w_2 \yen(Habits)}$$
$$\mathbf{I = w_3 \yen A + w_4 \yen C + w_5 \yen S + w_6 \yen(SPN)}$$

where A=affect attitude to the behavior;
C=perceived consequences of the behavior, which is equivalent to SNB¥MC in Fisbein's model;
S=social factors; and
SPN=subjective personal norm.

Comparing the two models, we can see that Fishbein and Ajzen posit that cognitions influence intention indirectly through their impact on affect, whereas Triandis proposes that cognitions and affect are two parallel, direct causes of intention.

Methodology

Overview of The Study. The study was designed to prospectively investigate Alberta veterinary practitioners' intention to participate in the Alberta Veterinary Medical Association (AVMA) annual conference. A questionnaire was mailed to 551 AVMA members who were active practitioners. One month after the first mailing, a follow up letter was mailed. A response rate of 63% was achieved. Bias estimation procedures revealed that the demographics of the sample had a satisfactory match to the total population with the exception that females were slightly over represented among the respondents.

Instrument. Pilot tests of the questionnaire were conducted with 16 veterinarians in the Saskatoon. Intention to participate in the 1992 and 1993 AVMA programs was measured by 7 category Likert scales. Actual participation in the program, was confirmed from the conference registration records. *Affect* components of attitude toward participation were measured by eight semantic differential scales, and the *cognitive* component was assessed by summated products of 12 salient beliefs and evaluation scores. *Normative beliefs* were obtained from 1 personal subjective norm item, one direct measure and 1 indirect measure consisting of 4 reference groups. Triandis suggests that *social factor* (C) consists of the sum of the perceived norms and social role. A *social role* index was constructed from items assessing social activity and employment position.

Results

Exploratory factor analysis identified the underlying psychological dimensions of attitude both on semantic differential scales and expectancy-value scales. For expectancy-value scales, three factors with eigenvalues of 1.0 or greater were obtained, accounting for 52.3% of the total variance. These three factors were labeled Program Relevance, Benefit, and Accessibility. Only one factor was extracted for the eight item semantic differential measure of attitude, indicating that the affect component of attitude was unidimensional.

Multiple regression analysis was used to predict respondents intentions to participate in the 1992 and 1993 AVMA programs. The results are shown in Tables 1 and 2. The highest multiple correlation was obtained by regressing intention to participate on Affect, Extended Expectancy-Value, direct measure of Subjective Social Norm and Personal Norm, and Social Role Scale.

Table 1: Prediction of Intention to Participate in CPE by Different Attitude Measures in Fishbein's Model

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables				
	Attitude	Social Norm	df	R	R^2
Intention to Participate During Next Two Years	SD	SSN1	2	0.655	0.429
	SD	SSN2	2	0.669	0.448
	EV	SSN1	2	0.565	0.319
	EV	SSN2	2	0.570	0.325
	3EVs	SSN1	4	0.586	0.344
	3EVs	SSN2	4	0.587	0.344
Intention to Participate This year	SD	SSN1	2	0.616	0.379
	SD	SSN2	2	0.615	0.379
	EV	SSN1	2	0.547	0.299
	EV	SSN2	2	0.539	0.292
	3EVs	SSN1	4	0.578	0.334
	3EVs	SSN2	4	0.566	0.319

Note: Attitude measures were: (a) 8 item semantic differential scales (SD), (b) single traditional expectancy-value (EV), and extended 3 dimension expectancy-value scale (3EVs).

Subjective social norm measures were: (a) single item direct measure (SSN1), (b) indirect measure on 4 reference groups (SSN2).

Table 2: Prediction of Intention to Participate in CPE by Different Attitude Measures in Triandis' Model

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables							
	Affect	Cognit	SN	SPN	SR	df	R	R^2
Intention to Participate During Next Two Years	SD	EV	SSN1	SPN	SR	5	0.751	0.564
	SD	EV	SSN2	SPN	SR	5	0.746	0.557
	SD	3EVs	SSN1	SPN	SR	7	0.757	0.573
	SD	3EVs	SSN2	SPN	SR	7	0.750	0.562
Intention to Participate This year	SD	EV	SSN1	SPN	SR	5	0.699	0.489
	SD	EV	SSN2	SPN	SR	5	0.692	0.478
	SD	3EVs	SSN1	SPN	SR	7	0.711	0.506
	SD	3EVs	SSN2	SPN	SR	7	0.700	0.490

Note: SPN=subjective personal norm
SR=social role scale.

The multiple correlation of intention and prior participation (number of times respondent participated during last 5 years) with behavior (participation in '92 program) was 0.716, F(2, 320)=167.84 ($p<0.0001$), explaining 51.2% of the variance in behavior.

Discriminant analysis to predict actual participation in the CPE program was also conducted using intention, affect, three expectancy-values, direct measure of social norm, personal norm, and social role scale. Results indicate that 86.38% of the subjects are classified correctly as participants and nonparticipants. (See Table 3) Prior probabilities for classification purposes were set at 0.33 and 0.67, since about one third of the study population usually attend the AVMA annual conference.

Table 3: Discriminant Analysis Classification Results for Participants/Nonparticipants

Actual Group Membership	Number of Subjects	Predict Group Membership	
		Participants	Nonparticipants
Participants	107	83.5%(91)	16.5%(18)
Nonparticipants	216	13.6%(29)	86.4%(185)
Percent Classified Correctly: 85.5%			

Note: Number of subjects classified are shown in bracket.

Discussion

The results demonstrate that Triandis' model has greater predictive utility than Fishbein's, accounting for over 57% of the variance in the intention measure and allowing for the correct classification of 85.5% of the respondents as participants or nonparticipants. Furthermore, personal norm, which was measured as personal obligation to participate, made a consistently large contribution to the behavioral intention model. This is, perhaps, because professionals tend to accept responsibility for maintaining their competence to a high degree and hold positive attitudes toward CPE. In contrast, correlation analysis between social role scales and intention to participate and actual participation indicated the social role component improved prediction of intention only marginally. No significant differences were found between demographic subgroups in terms of participation intention and behavior.

Another major finding of this study is the attitude structure toward CPE and the relationship with participation, using intention as a mediating variable. The study produced results similar to Bagozzi's (1981) in that the affect component (operationalized as semantic differential measures) was found to be unidimensional while cognition (measured as expectancy-value judgements) was found to occur as multidimensional reactions. The study is also consistent with previous research that attitude towards adult education has three dimensions (Blunt, 1983) two of them reflecting affect and cognition (Hayes & Darkenwald, 1990).

In conclusion, the theoretical models considered in this study successfully identified social psychological variables which are highly correlated with participation in CPE. The models' explanatory and predictive utility suggest that future research emphasis should be on testing the reliability and validity of the attitude measures and the convergent, discriminant, and predictive validity of the model. Further empirical investigations should be conducted to explore the causal relationships among cognitions, affect, intention, and participation within theoretical frameworks to advance our understanding of continuing education participation.

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"EDUCATION FOR WHAT?": A NOTION OF LIBERAL ADULT EDUCATION IN THE 1950S

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This paper seeks to develop a historical perspective of liberal adult education in the 1950s. The thesis is that the philosophical roots of liberal adult education during this period had a political agenda which sought to nurture pluralism and challenge intolerance and dogmatism.

Introduction

As we enter the last decade of this millennium and attempt to chart the course for the field of adult education, a sense of failure shadows our excitement for exploring the new frontiers. Instead of asking how adult education can contribute to the common good of society or humanity, we seek ways to further its professionalization. Robert J. Blakely's warning in 1952 still is pertinent today:

> The enchantment of methods distracts attention from consequences.[1]

As adult educators, we have been compartmentalized into often unconnected tasks of program design, delivery, technology, and evaluation. Adult education has lost a central purpose, and become a field analogous to an octopus with arms in human resource development, continuing professional education, popular education, adult basic education, and on and on. Within this diverse field we are connected in name only by the umbrella organization of the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education, an association which leaves many of us unsatisfied. We have become a profession controlled by special interests and personal agendas.

"Adult education, for what?"[2] was the question Blakely asked the field in 1959. This paper seeks to develop a historical perspective of liberal adult education in the 1950s. The thesis of this paper is that the philosophical roots of liberal adult education in the 1950s had a political agenda which sought to nurture pluralism and challenge intolerance and dogmatism. This paper begins with a brief description of the liberal adult education tradition, followed by a sociopolitical analysis of the 1950s. Then selected writings on liberal adult education in the 1950s are used to exemplify the pedagogical battle progressives waged against intolerance. Moreover, this argument shows that the apolitical approach of adult education which was separated from social problems was also antithetical to liberalism. Finally, the conclusion attempts to integrate this thematic history into the larger transition toward a post-modern society.

The Liberal Tradition in Adult Education

Liberal adult education has roots in Chautauquas, the Great Books, Lyceums, citizenship schools, and workers' education. With the formation of the Workers' Education Bureau in 1921, and its support of independent labor colleges such as Brookwood Labor College, adult education grew to be serious business which sought to involve all people, not just the privileged leisure class.[3] These liberal approaches to education attempted to evoke the political, social, and economic reality of adults in order to animate them politically. In the United States liberal adult education has been closely linked to the democratic experience. An active citizenry has always been considered essential to the struggle of the country. The liberal tradition maintains that the whole educational process should seek to open up and challenge our individual conceptions. The individual's personal perception of reality--which must be analyzed and critiqued--becomes the starting point for the liberal education approach. This tradition is neither right or left, but rather promotes dialogue in the democratic tradition. It is not vocational, nor is it leisurely. It is "education for citizenship."[4]

The liberal tradition has been accused of being apolitical, neutral, shying away from political perspectives in the name of objective pluralism. As promoted by John Erskine and Mortimer Adler's classical Great Books approach it can be criticized as being individualistic, if not elitist, intended to merely enrich one's mind.[5] Yet within the radical republicanism of C. Wright Mills, liberal education is effective when used by groups as a political process to prepare "informal leaders" in order "to influence decisions of power."[6] Moreover, the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education's approach was predicated on using liberal adult education through group discussions to stimulate social action.[7] History shows that the purveyors of the liberal tradition in adult education and workers education, such as John Dewey, Alexander Meiklejohn, and Eduard Lindeman, had political, social reform agendas.

The 1950s: The Red Scare, Anti-Intellectualism, and Anti-Pluralism

The 1950s were changing times for the United States as it entered into a decade of prosperity and conservatism. Returning soldiers from World War II needed housing and education, stimulating the massive development of segregated, apolitical suburbs, and the boom in community colleges which specialized in technical, job-oriented training. "The politics of anticommunism rather than the politics of liberalism emerged to dominate the American political life in the years after 1948."[8] Growing conservatism resulted in a return to organized religion, a decline in the divorce rate and illegitimate births, and a return to stronger family values. Prosperity survived the Red Scare and the Korean War, while the escalation of the Cold War with the development of thermonuclear weapons and Sputnik stimulated scientific rationality in education.

The workplace underwent a transformation that included a decline in union membership, coupled with an increase in disposable income and consumerism. Unions relegated workers' education to a lower priority as they achieved stability and legitimacy. Yet, labor's strength declined as industrial jobs were replaced by clerical and service jobs, filled predominately by women. In 1956, for the first time, white collar jobs outnumbered blue-collar jobs, while unionized labor had fallen to 14% of the total workforce and salaried middle-class workers had risen 61% over the previous ten years.[9]

With television, American's for the first time could keep abreast of the world around without ever having to leave the seclusion and safety of their homes. Unfortunately, the public could also be manipulated through this secondary information source. The film industry endured close scrutiny, if not terrorism, by political opportunists beginning with the investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947. In 1953 Edward R. Murrow stood up to political intimidation when he broadcasted the plight of an Air Force officer who was forced to resign because his father and sister were anonymously accused of reading subversive papers.[10]

Intolerance and a rejection of pluralism and civil liberties also grew, as exemplified during the 1952 presidential election when the Eisenhower campaign succumbed to anti-Communist fervor in muckraking Adlai Stevenson. In a speech to the American Legion, Stevenson rejected reactionary intolerance when he spoke, "most of us favor free enterprise for business. Let us also favor free enterprise for the mind."[11] Steering away from controversy and any sort of liberal, progressive blueprint of American society, many social issues were suppressed as the establishment pursued scientific solutions to social problems.

Liberal Adult Education in the 1950s

The birth of post-modern adult education arguably might be dated with the birth of the Adult Education Association (AEA) in 1951 when the field began to institutionally embrace adult schooling and distance itself from its liberal, social change roots. The progressive values which promoted social reform where students would learn through experience were replaced by scientific functionalism as the U.S.

sought to compete with the Soviets and use technological achievements to bolster patriotism. Adult education inevitably mirrored this changing social climate. Social reformers within the AEA's Committee on Social Philosophy argued that adult education should not become institutionalized and skill-centered. In Lindeman's words:

> I suppose the simplest way of saying that, is that the people who give life and vitality to adult education are people who want to improve their community. They are not solely people who have the selfish desire of making themselves individuals that are a little smarter than somebody else. They have a community sense which leads them into action.[12]

Liberal adult education in the 1950s was promoted most strongly by the Fund for Adult Education. The Fund's emphasis was to support humanistic and liberal approaches to problem solving.[13] Moreover,

> The phrase 'adult education' is sometimes used as an excuse for 'education' of adults to think in certain channels, to adopt certain points of view at the expense of other points of view. Neither the Ford Foundation nor the Fund for Adult education has any intention of embarking on such programs of indoctrination...The new organization would, perhaps, have been better named The Fund for Liberal Adult Education...[14]

Possibly one of the most eloquent spokespersons for the Fund was Robert Blakely. In a 1952 keynote speech to the AEA, Blakely, described two forces which have been at work in every historical period of social change. For the 1950s, these two forces were a compulsion to apply science to the physical world and the compulsion of human aspiration. Blakely's form of aspiration was democracy. His definition of democracy was simply "rule by the people." Blakely went on to argue that intolerant societies do not have any form of adult education. "There is no education, in the sense of the cultivation of independent judgement; all is indoctrination."15 Liberal adult education, within this framework, was purposeful, active, and political. Liberal education's intent was to imbue perspective and opinion that committed individuals to take a stand for something they might believe in.

Education, for What: The Transition to Post-Modern Adult Education

In 1959, Blakely reflected on the direction that adult education had evolved over the last decade. He used the analogy of how living trees are cut up and split to make a wood pile to describe what had happened to adult education. "After it dries you can burn it. However you do not have a living tree anymore." The living tree of adult education had been cut up into specialized disciplines, no longer connected except by a common history. Blakely continued with these words:

> The American people, probably, are the first people in history who have ever confused education with schooling. This error is recent. Even in our own history, it has always been assumed by wise men that education for freedom should be the education of a person to be a human being, rather than to do a job or perform a function; that education continues throughout life; that a person can learn things when mature that cannot possibly be learned when young. However, the bulk of education in this country is functional. Its aim is to get certain jobs done.[16]

Adult education for the common good, for democracy, for pluralism, and for citizenship, underwent a transition in the 1950s. Even though there have always been alternative education projects, such as Highlander Folk School, education's mainstream has always supported the social status quo of the dominant culture. Yet, during the 1950s there was an effort to politically animate adults through liberal education. Unfortunately, the liberal tradition was lost, possibly forever, to the burgeoning paradigm of technical functionalism which continues to dominate adult education in the 1990s. Post-modern adult education was born in the 1950s with the death of liberal adult education when the dream of educating for the common good was replaced by educating for a specific job or function. Blakely's 1959 vision of adult education is still relevant.

> Opportunities for continuing liberal education should be extended, as we are able, to everybody. Everybody matters...All people have rights to the basic liberties...Therefore, it seems requisite to provide educational opportunities for people to be leaders for the public good, not just for the good of corporations, not just for the good of universities, not just for the good of professions, but in terms of the common weal.[17]

This vision lost its clarity in the 1960s as the trend toward functionalism gained momentum. Blakely's failure to articulate a common goal and a progressive agenda for the field beyond the influence of the Fund must be shared with Malcolm Knowles. In their competition, liberal adult education vs. group dynamics, these two "dominant figures" and their "split in views" contributed to the division between social philosophers in adult education and, thus, partially explains the ineffectiveness of the field in "working for democratic social change."18

Notes

[1] Robert J. Blakely, "Adult Education In and For a Free Society," keynote speech to the Adult Education Association, East Lansing, Michigan, October 20, 1952, p. 3.

[2] Robert J. Blakely, "Adult education, for what?" Keynote address to the Seventh Annual Leadership Conference, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Chicago, Illinois, March 4, 1959.

[3] James M. Wallace, Liberal Journalism and American Education, 1914-1941, New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1991, pp. 58-62.

[4] Richard Taylor, Kathleen Rockhill, and Roger Fieldhouse, "The Liberal Tradition in Adult Education," University Adult Education in England and the USA: A Reappraisal of the Liberal Tradition, London: Croom Helm, 1985, pp. 16, 18.

[5] John Erskine, Delight of Great Books, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1928. Mortimer J. Adler and Peter Wolff, A General Introduction to the Great Books and to a Liberal Education, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1959.

[6] Wright Mills, "Mass Society and Liberal Education," Power, Politics and People, New York: Oxford University Press, 1963, pp. 353-373. This essay is based on the speech Mills presented to the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults in 1954.

[7] Gary Ann Dzuback, Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 235-236.

[8] William H. Chafe, The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 105.

[9] Chafe, pp. 112-117.

[10] Chafe, p. 128-132.

[11] Adlai Stevenson, speech to the American Legion, Madison Square Garden, New York, 1956, as cited in William L. O'Neill, American High: the Years of Confidence, 1945-1960, New York: The Free Press, 1986, p. 190.

[12] Eduard Lindeman, keynote speech at the luncheon of National Organizations, 1952 Conference, December 5, 1952, p. 2.

[13] Judith Grove, "A History of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults," Ed.D. diss., Northern Illinois University, 1985, p. 38.

[14] A Ten Year Report, 1951-1961, The Fund for Adult Education, 1961, pp. 9-10.

[15] Blakely, 1952, p. 4.

[16] Blakely, March 5, 1959, pp. 5-6.

[17] Blakely, March 5, 1959, pp. 8-9.

[18] John Ohliger, "Take a Social Philosopher to Lunch this Week," keynote address to Social Philosophy Luncheon, AAACE National Conference, Salt Lake City, October 31, 1990, p. 5.

VISUAL PRESENTATION

text, lies and videotape. . .
The Use of Video in the Research Interview

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The research interview is no longer considered a neutral tool for collecting data about the subject's actual experience. Researchers in education and the social sciences acknowledge the interview is a form of interaction, with results that are dependent on interpretation. By recording nuances of interpersonal communication, video provides rich verbal and visual data for analyzing both the content, and the process, of the interview.

During an interview, the researcher attempts the superhuman feat of trying to observe, participate in a meaningful conversation, write notes, gauge the "climate" of the interaction, and reflect. Videotape provides a dense record of audible and visible behavior, which can be recorded in an unbroken flow to indicate the pace and quality of movements, and can suggest emotional and psychological interpretations. It provides the opportunity to review interviews over and over again, to search for the meanings underlying words and actions. This is particularly valuable for uncovering 'muted' perspectives, experiences which do not fit social or cultural expectations and may be missed during a conventional interview.

During pilot interviews for a life history project, video was found to have a profound influence on the research relationship. Its presence could heighten the unequal distribution of power in a traditional interview, in which the researcher dominated and controlled the discourse. Or it could be used in a much different manner, to minimize inequities by facilitating collaboration in data collection and analysis. Through sharing control of the video camera, and reviewing videotapes with participants, the researcher encouraged a dialogue and a negotiation of the research relationship.

During an interview, the camera is not simply a device, but a participant in the interaction. For people familiar with television, its presence symbolizes a future audience for the research. To some participants, video implies surveillance. Conceptions such as these can magnify, distort, and prolong participants' self consciousness during and after the interview. The resulting performance doesn't necessarily diminish the credibility of the data. While some participants become more articulate in front of a camera, most become less conscious of the camera with continuous exposure.

The use of video brings other issues of credibility into focus. Though video records are saturated with detail, and impress the viewer with their apparent completeness, they cannot be considered inclusive or objective. The videomaker manipulates reality through intentional and inadvertent distortions, selections, and omissions. Even a stationary camera records from a particular point of view. The framing and composition of the picture, the timing and duration of the shots, and even the camera exposure will influence the viewer's interpretation of the recording. This selectivity underlies all scientific activity, and rigorous method is usually considered crucial to maintaining credibility in data collection. This is accomplished in video research by thorough documentation of the camera's distortions and selections, making explicit all conditions of video recording and manipulation such as camera angles, cut-aways or edits.

Video can further advance the credibility of research, by making original data readily accessible for review. Intersubjective reliability can be established by involving scholars and independent observers in analysis of the videotapes. When the goal of research is to present analysis consonant with an insider's perspective, videotapes can be reviewed and discussed with participants. Long after any research is completed, the results can be compared with original data in video archives.

Video offers simplicity, versatility, economy, and speed in collecting and copying data. Its technical advantages apply to transcription, interpretation and analysis of interviews. Innovative research in other fields is extending video's potential for analysis and preservation of audiovisual records using videodisk and hypermedia. At the same time, the use of video adds complexity to issues of credibility and ethics throughout the research process. Voluntary consent and confidentiality may require total anonymity, or the negotiation of formal agreements on use of the data for recording, analysis, archiving, and dissemination.

Video is a powerful research tool, yet the benefits that it offers cannot be accepted at face value. Its use in the research interview requires scholars to develop new skills in critical analysis for audiovisual documents. By bridging the gap between the visual and the verbal, systematic video research offers a challenge to the dominance of text in academic culture.

SYMPOSIA

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF TRANSFORMATIVE RESEARCH

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Budd Hall, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Hal Beder, Rutgers University
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The term transformative research has been usage in adult education for over three years. It first was used during a post-meeting of North and South researchers in Leeds, England in 1988, following the Trans-Atlantic Research Conference. At the close of the conference, a coordinating committee was elected to develop what is known as the Transformative Research Working Group or Network. The Network (TRWG) became affiliated with the International Council for Adult Education and has a maling list of approximately 125 researchers representing over thirty countries. The Network links both university and non-university adult education researchers around the world. It aspires to stimulate North-South and South-South dialogue on issues of critical social and political concerns, and to promote that:

(1) investigates the local impact of blobalization processes;
(2) furthers understanding and critical analysis of forces that promote or hinder personal growth and economic, social, culture, and political development;
(3) contributes to learning, education, or collective action that helps people improve their own lives and their societies;
(4) involves a thorough understanding of how research serves certain interests, and critiques the phenomenons;
(5) respects the rights of those involved in the research to be active and informed participants; and
(6) is based on collaborative and interdependent processes.

The lively discourse that began in Leeds regarding a definition of research that is directed toward the objectives listed above has continued informally at several research conferences. The Fall, 1991, issues of Convergence, the journal of the International Council of Adult Education was devoted entirely to articles addressing the definition of trandformative research. This sympusium provides another opportunity for discourse, gegining wth a response to what has been published in Convergence, and going further to question the divergent views that were presented there. More specifically, the symposium wil address various definitional dimensions that have been proposed as essential to transformative research. Presenters, in turn, will address the transformative research dimensions including: ethics (David Deshler), criticl pedagogy (Phyllis Cunningham), international foci (Budd Hall), relationship to particpatory research (Harold Beder), and stages of transformative research (Gary conti). The Symposium will provide space for discouse among some of the authors of the Convergence special issue, and an arena for researchers who have read the Convergence special issue, along with others, to question further definitional eforts to date, or to challenge underlying asumptions of presenters and Convergence authors. Brief descriptions of the conten of each of the symosium's presenter follow.

David Deshler

Ethical Tenets of Transformative Research

At least four major tenets for making judgements regarding whether any particular research is transformative are:

(1) Ethical- the research process should be conducted in the public interest with attention to human rights, social justice, reconciliation, and the preservation of environmental sustainability;
(2) Emancipatory- the research activity should expose and lead to the reduction of economic, social, political, and technical oppresive sdtructures and situation;
(3) Empowering- the research activity should serve the emergence of marginalized and disadvantaged groups and promote the conservation and proliferation of different forms of life; and
(4) Holistic - the research activity should emphasizes, identify, and reveal relationships and interconnectedness between: tghe part and the whole, the subjective and the objective, the micro and macro cntexts, and the local and the global.

However, it is the first tenet (Ethics) that is the overriding tenet that determines the focus, purpose, and acceptable processes for conducting research for social transformation purposes. All questions, such as "What values drive our selection of research foci?" "How will the research process be conducted?" "Who will benefit from our research?" "Who will use research findings and how?" "What are the economic, social, and political consequences of our research" are ethical questions. Transformative research shares the post positive position that all research reflects certain values, especially in the purposes for which the research is intended. Thgose ethical values includes, at least, compassion, utility, distributive justice, and environmental sustainability. All research is conducted within some value system. We, as transformative researchers, ask ourselves and others to be explicit concerning which values our knowledge creation serves.

Ethics can be defined as a reflection o human actions from the point of view of critical standards for both individual behavior as well as social-structural behavior. It is the relationship between the personal and the social that we want to emphasize in transformative research. We assume that there are some agreements about personal and social ethicl obligations. These include the ethics of compassions: respecting the freedom of others; preventing evil, and avoiding acts that will harm others; and relieving suffering wherever possible. The ethics of utility includes: always acting so as to produce the greatest good for all; adding as much as good as possible; and the promotion of public interest as opposed to the interests of the special few. Emphasis should be placed on research contributions to an global ethical consesus embodied in international law, declarations of human rights, and a concern for environmental sustainability. Research in many fields of knowledge can contribute to personal, and social ethical ends. However, research on how adult education and human learning serves various ends is crucial to achievement of ethical satandards.

Phyllis Cunningham

Critical Pedagogy and Transformative Research

Transformative research is closely related in my mind to critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy is education which has as its goal critical consciousing within a communitarian setting. Knowledge production can take place in any context but if it is not linked to critical consciousing it is more likely to be oppressive. There are three characteristics of transformative reseach when it is linked to critical pedagogy:

(1) it provides for the collective development of norms of appropriateness;
(2) it democratizes knowledge production; and
(3) it anchors knowledge in its context thus promoting relevancy.

In practice, it is unconscionable not to claim the university for all citizens of the society and to confront its elitism and monoploy on knowledge. This can be done by intellectuals both outside and inside the institution. Intellectuals within the university can develop ideological space in the institution to encourage their own and other's transformation and intellectual production, and to build linkages with community intellectuals and critical pedagogical activity. When intellectuals become separated from the context and the process by which there is collective reflection, collective goal setting, collective judgments on appropriateness of the technology (either methodological or substantive), and collective interpretation of the data, the knowledge production is much more likely to tend toward elitism. Thus the appropriateness of intellectual activity, that is to say, the degree to which it promotes transformation toward democratic ideals, by those "oeganic intellectuals" working in the university who identify with the working peasant, or under class is made possible.

Secondly, when intelectuals with common goals of transfoming the society band together, knowledge production is democratized. Instead of hoarding knowledge or keeping the gate, the resources of the university are made available to community intellectuals who want acess to those resources. The claims of the community for resources is appropriate and forces public universities to hold to their mission statements. In linking critical pedagogy and transformative knowledge production, both the learning and knowledge production is contextualized and because it is contextualized, it is anchored in reality and thus is more likely to be relevant to transforming society.

To argue for transformative research linked with critical pedagogy, I have made several asumptions. I assume that universities can be places of contestation and contribute to transformation; I assume that organi intellectuals, as defined by Gramsci, occur in evry social class and that some organic intellectuals identify ith the oppressed and seek democratic social change while others seek to perpetuate power and intellectual elitism; I do not assume that only the oppressed are responsible for democratic social change; and I assume that a major goal for some university educators of adults is to develop through collective critical pedagogy a transformative learning environment and conscientitizaed knowledge producers.

To argue that "transformative research" is not necessary because it is disempoering to the concept of "participatory research" is an nteresting but unrealistic contention. Participatory research, in its usually understood meaning, describes knowledge production that belongs to and is planned, analyzed, and interpreted by those who are either marginalized or poor. University inellectuals can provide technical assistance to such groups but, by definition, PR is not a university enterprise.

What is the work of the university intellectual then regarding the students they teach and the knowledge they creat? Must they be oppressor and await their uldmare liberation by the now oppressed? I believe not,> The struggle to democratize a modern society means to engage at evry level of the structure. If one lives in a society where the ratios between the poor and the rich are strongly mediated by the functionaries of the middle class,; if economic oppression is mediated strongly by gender, race, ethnicity, and the cultural contexts that extended from these groups, then knpwledge production must occur at all levels and within all groups.

Intellectual activity takes place in all parts of the structure. Participatory research produces knowledge from the people excludeed from the structures; trandformative research engages those persons within the university structure. Their job is to struggle against the empiricism, the objectivism, and the so-called science that through claims of neutrality create a hegemony of the intellectual elite and to direct their research activity rather to that which leads to personal, social., and ideological transformation to bring about a more equal, more just, more free society.

Budd Hall

Intellectual Dimension of Transformative Research

Transformative research is expression of hope. It is an expression of hope by persons who work in unversities, who do research in adult education and who search for a way of linking research with libratory or democratic pratice. The concept of transformative research arose at an interantional conference of adult education researchers from U.S., Britain, and Canada, and some invited guests from Europe and countries of "the south", the poorest counties in our globe. It arose within the framework of an academic debate about the neutrality of research or the neutrality of adult education. It also arose within the framework of an adult education reserch community trying to broaden its links beyond the North American/British/Northern European community.

The fact that a concept such as transformative research has emerged is a recognition by some that "business as usual" in the world of adult education research is no longer posibble. Transformative research is one of the many such efforts by adult educators to conceptualize their practice in such a way that it wil reinforce other democratizing tendencies in our troubled world. It joins the important family of related concepts such as Thematic Investigation, Participatory Research, Militant Research, Popular Education, Feminist Research, Education for Empowerment, and African-centered Research. Like other members of the family, Transformative research draws strength from a variety of theoretical constructs. New Marxists, critical theories, critical pedagogues, feminist theorists, the Freirean school of theorists, and many post-modernist writers have been drawn on to provide theoretical underpinnings in the search for coherencebetween hope and reality.

Transformative research is, in many ways, a label looking for both a base of practice and conceptual underpinnings. But its existence largely as a label at this point in time does not dimish its importance as a focus for debate and discussion. We need to understand the meaning of transformation of what; of whom; of structures that reinforce existing patterns of dominance and oppression; of our relationship with the earth or with our other species; of social relations that creat patterns of racsim, sexism, or religious intolerance; or of international structures that drain resources systematically from poor nations and that stimulate dramatic migration North? Each of these type of transformation and many others need to be understood. We need to have research that looks at the links between education, learning, and the kinds of democratic transformation that is hoped for.

However the conceptual framework of transformative research is filled out over the coming period, one of the most profound transformations that we are experiencing all over the world are dramatic trends most commonly referred collectively as globalization. The Club of Rome refers to our present context as "The First Global Revolution." Globalization can be seen in a set of inter-related trends.

First is the internationalization of production. This is seen in the production of the automobile, for example, which now is assembled in one nation with parts from four or five others being fed into a plant on a "just in time" basis. Some of the supply lines for, let's say, an engine part, may be 12,000 miles long ! A similar story is being played out in all major manufacturing sectors.

The second trend is the internationalization of the state. In a global economy with ownership in the hands of many persons in many parts of the world, domestic control of the economy means less and less. The world market drives all our economies. We are seeing the emergence of new structures for the control of the world economy such as the General Agreement on Tarifs and Trade (GATT) agreement or the integrated stock exchange. Government is becoming an international issue.

A third trend relates to the first two, the creations of new and deeper patterns of uneven development in the third world or in poor parts of the wealthier nations. The international division of labor, where capital is mobile and able to move from city to city, or country to country to find cheap labor or weaker labor legislation intensifies the debt pile up in poorer nations and is resulting in the total collapse of social infrastructure in many parts of the South Africa, in particular, is being hard hit. The trends in foreign aid are towards relief from disaster and forms of riot control to prevent total market disruption.

Structural adjustment programs, a related fourth trend, are the required programs that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have imposed on nations of the South and that conservative economic theory has imposed in Britain, the United States, and Canada. In the South it has meant that national governments have been held hostage by the international monetary agencies pending agreements to cut funding to adult education, literacy, health, education, and social services in an effort to become more competitive on the international market.

A fifth trend is the expansion of migration on a global basis. This is happening within nations as the flow of rural people to urban centers, particularly dramatic in cities such as Sao Paulo, Brazil, or Mexico City, is speeded up because of collapsing rural economies. It is also happening dramatically in the expulsion of people from poorer nations into richer countries. The flow of Central Americans into the United States in both legal and illegal ways is repeated in all parts of the world. The faces of Canadian cities have changed over the last ten to fifteen years as the world has come to us.

In terms of global military power, the Club of Rome notes: "The Gulf crisis may be a foretaste of many conflicts to come, not necessarily only in the form of North-South conflict, but related to resources, including energy and food availability, population pressures, and ethnic and religious animosities"(King and Schneider, 1991:13).

In the absence of all restraints, primitive functioning of the international market would lead to great increases in exploitation, neglect of social needs, environmental destruction, and the depletion of world resources. Fortunately our survival depends on moderating the influences of the global political economic tendencies. Structural changes of the type we have noted are already giving new meaning to some of the positive international tendencies that we have been experiencing in adult education over the past years. And there are some interesting possibilities for those involved in transformative research to think about.

1. What role can research play in countering the negative impact of the new concentration of power?
2. How can trans-national studies be encouraged that will strengthen the voices of those most in need?
3. How can research in Canada, the U.S., Britain, and elsewhere, serve the political needs of social justice coalitions with direction coming from the South?
4. How can international networks of researchers build links with movements for debt relief, ecology, peace, democracy, and women?
5. How can trans-national studies be used to identify strategies for overcoming the negative impact of structural adjustment?
6. How can research linked to public education in the dominant sectors of our economy help reduce the burden on the backs of the dominated both within our nations and without?
7. How can international research be used to support our local struggles?
8. How do international trends effect adult education where we live?

Hal Beder

The Relationship Between Transformative and Participatory Research

As Westwood (1991) appropriately notes knowledge (and the standards for validating knowledge) creates, supports, and is the product of power relationships. It follows that if transformative research is concerned with identifying and combating oppression, transformative researchers must constantly critically analyze the power relationships that are inherent in our knowledge production activities.

The advent of transformative research as a concept and as an object of organized advocacy raise several issues in regard to power, participatory research, and north/south domination.

1. Participatory research, and the Participatory Research Network that supports its growth and development, developed in the south to

support the praxis of liberation-oriented popular education. Almost by definition its advocates are practice-oriented. In contrast, transformative research developed in the north among a group of people who were primarily university-based academics. Because of this historical context, there is a danger that transformative research will become "socially" defined as something northern intellectuals do while participatory research will become defined as something southern practitioners do. If this transpires, transformative researchers may unwittingly be contributing to the further marginalization of the south.

Knowledge production is one of the most potent mechanisms of contemporary "colonization" and perpetuation of north-south dominance. To a great extent, this domination is supported by an attitude that has it that "south" knowledge is methodologically flawed, unsystematic, not objective. We in the north know how to produce knowledge; they in the south do not.

Those of us who have worked in the south know how false this logic is. Indeed, in respect to transformative research, the south is way ahead of us. Thus, if we wish to advance transformative research throughout the world, we might best start by learning from those in the south whose transformative research tradition is much richer than our own. To do this -in a spirit of support and solidarity-we need to join with the south by connecting with the networks and structures they have already developed. To compete with the south or to attempt to proselytize the south is likely to do more damage than good.

2. Is participatory research a form of transformative research? If so, participatory research becomes conceptually subordinate to transformative research. Since structural subordination often follows and is spawned by conceptual subordination, this issue is by no means neutral.

   It is difficult to deal with this issue. One solution would be to merge the two networks into one, perhaps called the participatory/transformative network. Rightfully or wrongfully, however, this solution might be perceived as one more move toward north/south dominance. Another option might be to define transformative research in a way that eliminates the confusion between transformative and participatory research, but this might not be possible. The third option, the most drastic, is simply to disband the transformative research network.

3. The participatory research network is a vital, on-going enterprise that has been very successful in developing methodology and supporting

the systematization of popular education in the south. By organizing separately from this network, is transformative research, in fact, competing with it?

Gary Conti

Stages of Transformative Research

Transformative research can be conducted at three levels. These are Awareness, Active Involvement, and Social Reconstruction. Each requires a different degree of commitment and produces a different type of action. A single transformative research project may have individuals who are personally at each of these levels. Awareness involves moving from a stage of helplessness to a realization that people have choices in their lives. Active Involvement occurs when people actively interact as a group and share ideas in order to carry out their research. Social Reconstruction is marked by a burning commitment of community members for change and by a strong confidence of these community members in themselves and in their ability to create change. Since these levels are hierarchical, each level is a prerequisite for the next level, and research can become transformative only when several community members have reached this third level and are taking action collectively.

Transformative research has been practiced by community members in rural Montana for nearly 50 years. Originally organized as a study group in 1945, those in Conrad expanded into a community action group. Over the years, they have identified the values of the community, defined an image of their community, and energized the community to accomplish its dreams. The list of projects that have transformed the community included a nursing home, retirement apartment complex, seniors center, swimming pool, irrigation system, and high school. The dreams of this community just did not happen; they were created through the conscious, cooperative transformative research efforts of its people.

The people of Conrad, Montana, have been involved in long-term transformative research. Recognizing that there were needs in their community, they took responsibility for initiating and directing change. While they were unwilling to abdicate control to an outside authority, they were willing to seek outside help. This process allowed them to learn about other community groups, to acquire skills for critically questioning the forces in their community, and to form networks for effective community action.

The three stages of transformative research are clearly evident in this group's actions. In the Awareness stage, they came to realize that they could control their own destiny. Rejecting stereotypes that created defeating attitudes, they sought ways that would allow them to define their community in their own image and then create it. Active Involvement was stimulated by participation in a special project that acted as a catalyst in bringing together diverse community groups and in providing those from these groups with problem-solving skills. However, those involved were not content to stay at this level. Through their commitment and vision, they used transformative research to identify the cherished values and traditions that embodied and exemplified the meaning of their community and to put them into action. This transformed their community. Success bred further action. Even though several of these original group members are now in their eighties, they are engaged in transformative research and in involving other community members in this process.

Reference

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EPISTEMOLOGY AND VOICE: POETRY, TRANSFORMATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

Budd L. Hall (Chair), Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Sam Kounusu, University of Lethbridge
Jane Munro, Kwantlen College
Michael Welton, Dalhousie University

Budd Hall

1. Myles Horton and the River of Life

Myles, you know how much trouble we have as men
In saying that we love each other
Our fraqile warrior shields are so seldom out of place
Do you remember Myles when I wrote you of my love
In a letter after being together in Nicaragua?
Trying to write but promising that I wouldn't "make a habit of it"
I got your letter back so fast that I knew you had answered the day
You got it
Both of us knew what was being said
But neither made a habit of it

And do you remember also in Nicaragua
How much you laughed, together with your friend Lewis Sinclair
When the veteran of the 1939 Abraham Lincoln Brigade of the Spanish
Civil War, after realizing who you were said in astonishment
"Myles Horton, that can't be you, I thought you were dead".

And Myles you are laughing still
Because much as you savoured each blessed drop of body life, each Drop of wine,
each tear
You knew that you were a means by which
We felt that special cosmic river of life that goes on forever
A river which each one of us could feel and learn to flow with
A river which flows from ancient First people's past,
From rocks and trees
A river which flows with us now today, on this hill in Tennessee
A river of life which flows in song and dance, in children's Laughter, on picket
lines, in mine pits, in offices and homes
Wherever struggles are

And you knew Myles that this river flowed through every corner of our globe
You felt the flow in Nicaragua, India, The Philippines, South Africa,
Zimbabwe even France, Canada and Spain

You felt the river of liberty
You felt the river of freedom
You felt the river of Justice
You felt the river of Love
You felt the river of Life

And you created moments, through your stories, your laughter, your workshops, your visits, your meals, your garden
For all of us to feel that river

Your words, our hearts
Our hearts, your words

We are together now in that river
We flow
We let it shine
We overcome
We sail on
We keep our eyes on the prize
And we carry on

2. MWIZI

"Mwizi...thief...the cry goes out
Shattering the tranquility of our
International delegation waiting
At the Mombasa ferry
Hundreds, adrenalin-pumping
Young men

Streak past our car windows
As we wait, along with buses filled with
Sun-seeking European tourists and
Goods lorries, small vans jammed with coastal people
Going to town

"They will kill him" says the driver
Our calm and semi-philosophical talk about
Illiteracy in the world
Dramatically contextualized by clumps of
Suddenly passionate youths in pursuit of one
Who has fallen prey to need
To empty-stomach-no-job-no-clothes-no dreams
Need

"God how we've failed the youth"
"You see how little there is for young people to do?"
"Remember for a person who has only one shirt, the theft
Of that shirt means he can't leave home that day"
"A violent, destructive environment creates these kinds of responses"

We in our nice car
We on our way to tell the press about how
We will help to make a better world
We speaking to cover up our sense of horror, fear
Embarassment, powerlessness, lack of response

The flow of the crowd has changed
The tide of men is shifting back

A young man whose already shabby clothes are
Ripped and torn
Is brought back past our car by jeering on-lookers
His face wet with blood and tears
But still alive for now

But each of us has died a little
Sharing of a world we do not like
Yet know not how to change

3. DIFFERENT RHYTHMS DIFFERENT BANDS

Part I The Non-Governmental Organization

Ring Ring
Ring Ring
Find the money
Find the money
Find the money
FIND THE MONEY

Ring Ring
Ring Ring
Yes
No
No
No
Maybe
Maybe
Oh my God

Ring Ring
Ring Ring
Chile
India
my son's teacher
Brazil
Sweden can I pay the rent?

Ring Ring
Ring Ring
Send me this
Send me that
Send me the map to
Where its at

Ring Ring
Ring Ring
Not with her
Not with him
Not with them
Just me
Just we
Just us
Just once

Ring Ring
Ring Ring
You mean it worked?
You mean it worked?
All of us and
All of us and
All of us and
All of us and
WE DID IT?

PART II The Academy

No knocks upon the door
No door on which to knock
No calls
No pets
Ain't got no paradigms
Discourse of course
Discourse and domain

Insurrection of subjegated knowledges
Hegemony
Hegemony
Hegemony
Hope
Nope not just yet
Voices from the margins
Radical dicotomizing
communicative interaction
blocs of history
histerical blocs
Be civil society
Be coerced
And consent

Patriarchy
Patriarcy
Linked to violence?
Linked to violence?
Race
Race
Race
Race
Run

Class
Class
Class
Class
Done

The anthropological sleep
Sleeping beauty
Beautiful sleeping
Commodified
orchid-rooted
luxuriating
Wonder creating
Wonder answering
Speak to us in as many syllables as you can
Archaeologico-ecozoic-metamorphasizing self-directing learners
WHY IS MY WORLD INVISIBLE?

4. FOR THE TREES

I am a man
A white man
A middle aged man
An anglo-saxon man

I have worked most of my life for a more just world
I have struggled and failed in relationships with women and men
I am struggling and growing in relationships with women and men

I did not excell when young in the art of being a man
I wasn't strong, fast, brave, a good fisherman or hunter
I was a good reader
I remembered what I saw
I wanted to feel

I am horrified by accounts of daily violence of men against women
I feel sometimes like I can't read another paper or hear more stories
At times like these I am ashamed of my maleness
Am I genetically complicit?
I deny this but cannot rule out all doubts
I am afraid that in spite of my deep love of justice
That 47 years of socialization still produces male anger
Anger of the same variety which fuels other men to
Maim, deface or kill or simply
Intimidate

And yet at the same time I am not finished becoming a man
In whatever unexplained and confusing layers that represents

Patriarchy is wrong
Deep democracy is better
But I feel the existance of male spirituality
I feel male intimacy
My rage, genuine and palpable also
Serves as engine, drive and inspiration
Also flames with light and glory
NO lonely hunter, I
Nor member of an undifferentiated collectivity
I seek vision
I seek justice
I seek love
I am listening, but not idle
I am a man

Sam Kounosu

Eve's Daughters

I. She leaves

"Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know;
For God is also in sleep, and dream advise,
Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
Presaging, since with sorrow and heart's distess
Wearied I fell asleep: but now lead on;
In me is no delay; with thee to go,
Is to stay here, whithout thee here to stay,
Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me
Art all things under heav'n, all places thou
Who for my wilful crime art banished hence.
This further consolation yet secure
I carry hence; though all by me lost,
Such favor I unworthy am voutsafed
By me the Promised Seed shall all restore."

(John Milton, Paradise Lost.)

II. She runs

Into rocks, cutting my feet, evil wind right behind
Hissing metal blade my shoulder barely missed,
Horse stumbled and the soldier jerked vomiting
Cursed magic in the face of glistering Sun

Burning village below, cut up sisters, crushed
Babies, cries, groans, horsed soldiers shouting
Strange sounds, I run, run, and run till dark.
And in shadow of Moon Spirit, I fell senseless.

The day before, black robe was uttering "Christ",
"Christ", "Christ", strange sounds I never heard
We gave foods, gold, honor and women they wanted.
Killing, burning, raping, looting "For Christ's Sake"?

Corn Mother left on my plot, no way to get back now.
Only seed, I carry in me. Where shall I go with it?
Dream tells me no more, in red sky coming to the east
My bloody feet, we must run, get to trees north.

III. She learns

A long dusty road from reservation, I walked not
Looking back, resolute 50 miles to the south
my feet hurt, empty mind and dried up eyes
To the residential school I had to go.

There was no choice, police would come and beat us
All around, That was their law and might was in
Their hands. And I was to learn their God and
Their Science, beaten, confined, crushed, inflicted.

I have managed to do well, I am almost one of them now.
Doctor of Science, a few, so said, in Female Sex.
Fire of Hell mushroomed over Sacred mountain, my eyes
Still dry since I walked.

Only in night sky, I see tear of my mother, Pleiades
To the East, telling Winter has come and Spring not
Too far, in the color of blue corn, coming of
The Fourth World, I shall walk the Seed wet in tears.

IV. She stands up

Ringing Ears, skull crushed somewhere, stain of booze,
A women of pride and high education, why in a hell!
Black hole with iron bars, in darkness I cannot see
Anything, what fuck you want, what fuck I want.

My father Tall Pine, my mother Walking Rock, I Running
Brook in Spring Time, to be a princess among learned
Teaching how sweet loves are to be made, not to run
Bare feet, stumble down on concrete. No shit, no.

Pity, powerless, despair, how far down I must fall
Into the gutter in front of my nose, dirts of street
In my mouth, coase taste of my life, less than Women of
Street looking up lamps or even stars beyond.

Oh my baby! I forgot!

My bby still hidden under bed left in the Apartment
Drunk and violent! Something, Something, something
I must do. The sacred bundle I care, the seed from
Immemorial. Pray operator, I have no dime.

V. She fights

In the mist of morning, razor wire dull in shine
Cutting across the face of the land, pines black
Painted masks and fatigue uniform, guns heavy
Gleaming eyes cursing in silence.

Overturned cruisers half burned, somewhere police radio
Cracking, deepens the evil silence. Over centuries
Blamed not learning their way, the art of killing along
Christian love, to be wasted on Golf play.

Young soldiers are a half of my age. I would nurse
Them full to sleep, in fragrance of sweet grass over
Night, camp fire smoldering damp. Red in sun rise,
Beauty of peace, with me behold, with me pray.

Stop trampling on her body, Sacred Mother nursing
Hear the angry ghosts, the countless generations
Burried here, many maimed in the centuries of pains.
How many more would you wish, how long, how far.

Taking up arms I stand here. In the memory of
Bare foot run, tears frozen on the long march, burned
Villages and multilated sisters. If I die, there will
Be another. My seed will go on till she prevail.

VI. She friends

Something in bound, electric flow, I touch you in
Passing. A Greyhound from Toronto to Calgary, I'm
Looking for a place to live, you a place to die
Crossing of Space-Time, meeting on a bridge.

Sand castle or house of cards, you talk of the world
No one shall suffer. I talk of Science my grandmothers
Left. Whatever learn or discourse, the Spirit
Beyond us, soars to sky and touches the Sun.

Surprising spark buried in a wrinkled coat, old
Friend meeting anew, prints and technicality asides,
Forms, persons and Time immaterial, to be stars
Somewhere beaming lights across the sky.

Learned stuffs are bridges to cross, over the painful
Journey, I carry a seed, in perfume, to share her

Meaning, a Tree I lean, a daisy at a road side.
We meet again somewhere bridging over centuries flow

VII. She disputes

"Discovery" you said? You discover people here?
Own? Claim? Words, words, alchemy of words
Blood stains every spellings. Breach is erasing of
History. How one discovers meaning of all that?

"Violate Law" did you say? Not your Violence,
Invasion? Laws of the Dominion, you mean
Domination, death concentrated in tens of millions
Where Justice stands, might or right, power or virtue?

Do you sell your mothers or contract out? This
Land is my mother, not owned nor disowned. Dreams of
Ours are for sharing, labours of ours are for offering,
The bosom of mother warm, seed to grow.

You see prayer in smoke drifting to reach the Spirit.
Land in a sacred trust with us, in bundle of love
We don't beg you what is not ours. We shared, we cared.
Have you cared enough to pray?

VIII. She smiles

Crossing a street, a woman, an infant in her arms,
Two more clutching on her skirt. A car came slow
Stopped, I saw seven smiles meeting, in the fleeting
Moment, happy all around among seeds in blossom.

Crocus through frozen ground foretelling, the spring
That's yet, incredible dream, life long learning
Resolved in the moment of smile, offering to heaven.
Incarnated friend afar in a time warp.

Shedding tears for other's sake, smiles are mine to
Receive, a rare flower out of season, on a lonely
Road, a passing stranger, Buddha's release, miracle of
Desert, water of life.

Way of Peace, water's metamorphosis, wind cross the
Desert sand, over mountain cutting edges, cycles of
Life and death returns to the mother, feather light
Breeze over the world. The tree after all bears fruit.

A bird and Princess

Once upon a time, there was a beautiful Princess. Many stories start like that, and there comes young prince looking for her affection. There may be a bad witch or a big dragon to make story a fun.

But no storytelling mentions a little bird. So I tell you abou;t this poor little bird. There are bad news and good news. Which one would you like to hear first?

Well, the good news is that this bird was a good friend of the Princess. He was around when she was born. He used to sit right on her baby carrage and twiter his wings. He used to say "chi. chi. chi. chi!"

Baby Princess understood what the bird was saying then. They went almost everywhere together. In summer days, when sun is too hot, the bird faned his wings to send cool breeze, or may be just that Princess felt it cool...

To count the blessings, there was no bad witch. No dragon lived anywhere near. The King and Queen did not drink, did not smoke, did not fight. They did not get sick either. The royal doctor was like a Maytag repairman.

But, you do not need to worry. The god doctor helped library, where he read stories to children. He also helped farmers when harvest was buzy. That how everything was done in this little kingdom.

The princess grew up healthy and beautiful. She perticipated to all sorts of community things. Oh! Do you know what participate means? I should not have used such a big word until you get to be 6th grade.

You say you go with your friends to river bottom and pick up bottoles and cans. You are right. I am impressed. You already know such a big word. Your big sisters in the University may be surprised to hear you saying that.

By participating, the princess became well known, not only in the kindom, but also all over the continent. Of course, the little bird went out with prince everywhere, admiring her, encouraging her, watching out for dangers.

Hearing about her, young princes from many kingdoms around came to the little country. They gave her many splended presents and tried to get her affection. Once they saw her, all of them wanted to marry her.

All of them were sort of cute. Some played guiter. Some had race cars. One had Doctor's degree. Another was a hockey champion. Princess liked one, but she did not want to hurt others. So she asked the King to test them.

The test was a maze. You know maze is a sort of garden with high bush walls. The bush wall makes winding pathes between. You go in there and walk around and around never finding where exist is. You can get lost in there.

The Princess hoped that the young man is smart enough to find the way out. That was an awful mistake. If you love someone, you don't think of testing. But it was too late. It became a maze problem for herself to get out.

There was, actually, another mistake. While having funs with good looking young men, the Princess forgot about the little bird. The bird was in love with her. She did not know that. This is the bad news part.

But the bird watching her knew which Prince she had in her mind. So the bird flew over the maze signaled "chi chi" to the Prince to follow. The Prince did not understand what the bird was saying. But lost in the maze and nothing seemed to work, he followed the bird.

The Prince found the way out and a great marrage ceremony was held. They lied happy everafter. Well, that is not quite true. They had more mazes to go through, but two together they worked way out alright.

The bad news, that is sad part, is about the little bird. On the wedding day, he sung his best "chi, chi, chi, chi" for happy conglaturation. But nobody understood what he was saying. Next morning someone found him drop dead on the round.

There is one thing we can do, however. Next time you see a little bird saying "chi. chi. chi. chi" to you. You listen and return a smile. He does not need anything much, and understands what you are saying in your mind.

(Dec. 11, '91. S.K.)

Jane Munro

Journal Poems

The following are examples of expressive writing from a notebook I kept this fall. While far from finished works of art, these journal-poems speak in imagery, attend to sound patterns, use language with a fair amount of precision, and approach content which often goes unspoken. Getting the elusive into words allows me to think about it; giving it a particular form leads me to consider alternatives to the way I first cast it. The laborious process of thinking a journal-poem through to a finished work of art--of composing poetry--is an exercise in epistemology, voice, and transformation. It rarely happens overnight; indeed, years may elapse between the journal-poem and its final descendant. Perhaps because of this hypnotically slow pace--and my busy life--most journal-poems never emerge from their notebooks. Still, I feel writing these bits and pieces is important. Doing it makes me feel like myself; what is more, doing it makes me feel like a self who is learning and changing--who is in process. Many people employ expressive writing to articulate (speak/connect/move) their experiences and feelings. I share these with you in the hope that they will illustrate how poetry--right from its start--is an exercise in voicing meaning and facilitating change.

11/11/91 Remembrance Day

Pulling the cuff of one sock back
across my hand, tucking the toes
of a pair of white wool socks inside
a neat sausage. Pull it open. Presto.

in a drift/dream/mind turns on
itself/pas-de-deux across a dark stage
apart/folded/floored/legs
and torsos/flex/contract/open/lift
two.and.one/two/one/two

The shining of leaves turned underside up.
White foil of lightening / peripheral.

Puppets on sticks from Rajasthan,
the Maharaja under the woman's skirt.

How close to the unconscious is death?
Another mind closed in a cuff of thought?

below throat/below chest/out of belly
bass chords/lowing of livestock/snoring/a growl
Gyuto Tantric Choir/in a drift/dream/mind turns on
Tibetan monks chant/intone prayers
twenty hours a day/one.and.two.and.one/two/one.and.two
their vibrations unrattle me / the flying apart stops

turn/turn/ in the puppetshow, polar voices from one tongue
More leaves shaken purple across the wet lawn.

Waking on Remembrance Day to thunder
and blood on the sheets. Thank God it's a holiday.
An old hand at tidying myself. Making self
presentable. Pulled together.
Pad-lined panty under jeans. Socks.

I saw the lightening while brushing my teeth.
Rain / Pages of newsprint refolded after breakfast.

The life and death of the mind.
Open and close. Our laundry dances
in drawers, under covers, in washers and dryers
the tumble and turn. How many
thoughts have you folded, worn?

mesmerized, enchanted, mind settles
to tone of stone, the slow pace of bone
in a drift/dream/mind turns on
one.and.two.and.one/two/one.and.two
Vibration. Chants known to unrattle you.
Memory settled in loose skeletons.

12/11/91--for two students

Del, in the background, her black
legs out straight from the chair
funky in cut-offs, tights--her face
concerned. She's listening, her portfolio
closed. When Bryan--the blond man--weeps,
Del rises, wraps her arms round his shoulders,
her Afro crowning his cropped head.
Yes, it's tough for a man to cry
in a prof's office. "Don't talk of soccer,"

he commands as I struggle for a workable metaphor.
She's silent. And it's Del, in the end
I fail. My own gender, gifted at holding
in, holding back. Not holding forth.
Del, I wish I could also give you
the assurances I labour forth for Bryan.
Persistence. You want to learn. Brilliance
could burn out but persistence lasts.
I watch the women drop away, semester
after semester. Only the middle-ages mothers
hang in. They've already paid the bill.
Love isn't in conflict with success.
Del, it won't hurt you to excel.
Don't quit, just to hold a man. Hold
love, and hang in. We need your writing.
Do it. Del? Will you? And also Bryan.

13/11/91

When he goes to sleep ahead of me
he turns the light on in the closet
and pulls the door almost closed, so
I can see to undress and climb into bed.
He takes care of me in these ways.
It's not that he alters himself so much--
he does not wait up--but he includes me
in his thinking. This consideration
goes before me, prepares the way.
The sheets on my side will be cold, but he
will lie unseen, warm, breathing, dreaming--
limiting the chill I soon must curl up within.

14/11/91

The date comes round again, the night
our home burned down.
This night.
Mid-November.
We survived Halloween. Soothed by
All Saints, All Souls, took a placid look at winter.

Fruit cakes seasoning.
Climbed among whips, high into the old apple tree,
to strip it of its late crop of red fruit. Left a few
shells for starlings, pecked empty, hanging
as hollow globes amongst the brown leaves.
Bore sage, rosemary, and bay inside
to line the north window sills.
On Monday, I bought a red wool dress.
Moths last summer ate the turquoise dress I found
in the January sales
that first winter
after the fire.
Mother gone, I craved
bright, soft luxury. Expensive and indulgent.
This night four years ago a fire ate
my childhood, our home,
chewed the fruit without reserve.
In the stove of log walls
each detail melted, shattered. Granite
slabs six inches thick crumbled to ash.
The rosewood piano with its candelabra.
The Grammar of Ornament.
Vermont slate, birdseye maple, yellow cedar.
Boxes of old photographs of beach parties,
ski cabins, yachts, women in long dresses.
Norah's paintings. Grandfather's Creek Bed.
The linen cupboard where Tillie had her kittens.
Mother's bag of crunchies for the racoons.
In dreams I walk the halls, sit
on the granite hearth, feed
tame fires. I come again in every light.
But tonight
belongs to terror, failure, disaster.
There's no contract
I can make
to protect
my children, any of us
from irrational disaster.
Our home had smoke alarms, a fire extinguisher,
easy egress, hoses--the house in which I sleep tonight
is less safe: three storeys, older,
awkward to escape from.
I fear theft, assault, random destruction: accidents--
the ingress of shock.
This night terrifies me. I don't
want such things to happen.

15/11/91--Galiano Island

If I'd been a man
I might know how to demand
priority. I've been practicing, but
my heart isn't in a rehearsal of tyranny.
I don't want grumpy or grudging compliance.
I want another force, a man
as it were, to ask of me
what I most desire--
Oh, Jane, come
here and live away from teaching.
Live with love and writing.
Read. Walk. Talk among friends.
Good bed. Air scrubbed. Earth raw, trees strong
and mixed. Clean sea for private company.
A garden of herbs. Birds at all hours.

16/11/91--Galiano Island

all day the juice comes & goes
at night, dry, no power
Andres & the Jotul heater
pot of water never boils
fresh pasta eventually simmered
no electricity to pump gas
to keep ice frozen
car on empty and fridge leaking
what if you had a deadline?
living here, you'd have to back-up every 3 minutes

19/11/91

the refugees
box cars climb into snowy mountains
trees by the tracks
black and white
in my dream I have lost
the breath of a bay horse eating hay

crusty domed loaves hot to the palm
a lamp on a table, a red wool
ball speared with knitting needles,
a yellow cushion on the maple rocker
the baby I'm hugging needs milk
but my breasts are dry
he is not my child
my children
do not sit here in the snow under this
blanket, yes, at least a blanket
grey and rough
smelling of coal oil
when the snow melts the road
will be rutted, the mud
ankle deep
I carry him, beg
food for him, what can I feed
this child I've been left with
a refugee, like me, only more helpless

21/11/91--thinking of M.S., whose father died this afternoon

peel a carrot
red pen at night
the wine dark in an IKEA glass
late class, the womb of our kitchen
circling home down the slope of bridges
pot of soup--cast iron--simmering
sleeping household
the moon off elsewhere
I, on the dark side, note the foggy ovum
blue pearl of earth rise
up the scale of a beginner
climbing steps is easy
descending, arms loaded, heels stammer
full foot strike on each lino level
while lads skim aluminum strips, slip
down quick as fresh pasta, their wakes
a scent of vinegar as I'm teaching
tonight, the badminton of conceptions
white birdies arc under branches of a huge Douglas fir
our long-ago grassy court, the weedy back yard
halved by a green net

the tent we slept in summers
its yellow patch beyond the house
later, after school started
faded sides folded in on themselves
beyond the range of last year's telescope
gaseous clouds formed a new galaxy
by the time we see it, our 1991 vintage worlds
are fully-shaped, their furnaces slacking,
grapes on the vines of gravity
I sit at my placemat and sup
after work, after commuting, before bed
red pen marking unbleached pages
vitamin A protecting me from free radicals
oh carrot, your simple blessing
unpeeled
at home
after a modest range of local wandering
it is surely a miracle
to live
in a blink of composted moments
slightly aware, here

Michael Welton

Epistemology and Voice: Poetry, Transformation and Adult Education

I had written some poetry over the years--even published several in a small university magazine--but the Gulf War cracked me open and the words poured out. I would wake up in the morning, pain having taken permanent residence inside of me, and scrawl out the words...then I would attempt to give some form to them on the computer. I was excruciatingly aware of being disconnected...my wife and I separated, cut-off from daily contact with my children, my head floating somewhere off in Habermasian space. Poetry was not, as the sweet Wordsworth once said, "emotion recollected in tranquility." For me, it seemed to be a way of naming the terror, confronting the dread breaking into everyday life.

Shopping at Sobey's during the War

Shopping at Sobey's
on Saturday morning
the usual slightly hectic
pace, picking our way gingerly
through the lettuce, tomatoes and brocoli
Suddenly

he falls like a Douglas fir
down by the flowers, near aisle no. 3
we stop, for a moment
frozen in quiet panic
normalcy disrupted
he lies there
in a pool of blood
his body twitching, helpless, spasmic
shoppers crouch near him
the rest glance over a shoulder
"Someone call an ambulance!"
at the checkout counter
I am shaking, distraught
strange dread creeping up my spine

Susan Sontag has written that "we live under continual threat of two equally fearful, but seemingly opposed, destinies: unremitting banality and inconceivable terror." Throughout the Gulf War and continuing into the hysterical present, I have been running from banality and simultaneously confronting the inconceivable terror that at so many unsuspected times breaks through the most ordinary of experience.

Armageddon on Gzowski

The're talking of Armageddon
On Peter Gzowski today
Yesterday, wasn't it
someone's favourite recipe?
so strange
        the quickening cadence
        the palpitating heart-beat
        racing to the end
the "last hour" says the Koran
"Armageddon" says the Christian
they find the common ground

earthquake will leave
the cities of the world
in ruin
the stars will race wildly
from their ancient resting places
the mountains will fry like carded wood
people will scatter
like cockroaches startled by light

with all these things

Jesus said
the birthpangs of the new age
begin

Budd Hall says that our challenge is to find a language which conveys the notion of location, feelings linked to reason and transformative possibility. In my time of spiritual desperation, my heart cried out for reconciliation...with my children, Marie, my splintered inner self, God...

protect the children
they are afraid
they cry in the night
they are afraid

protect the children
the world is not safe
they cry in e night
they are afraid

I read that tooMarie and she said I was writing about myself...I was the child I believed to be so unprotected in this world...I wrote chants, I wrote songs...

do not let the children down
through shrapnel shred your heart
do not let them down
the children are alone

Chorus: live well
do not betray those you love
connect deeply
day in, day out
celebrate your life
before it fades out

I was breaking apart...my poetic image was "we are breaking part"...I hid in the we...and I returned to the biblical imagery of my younger days...

Remember
the peace of that new land
when lion will lie down with the lamb
the streams flowing with honey
the stars brimming with joy
all swords hammered into plowshares

I wrote a little poem for children

will the lion
relaly
lie down beside the lamb?

licking its tattered ear
untangling its matted hair
roaring loudly when the jackal comes?

will the lamb
really
lie down beside the lion?

keeping it warm
calming it on a cold night
teaching it the way of peace?

Poetry helped me to confront the inconceivable terror, the dread at the breakfast table, the headlines of the daily news giving us more than we can take, the extraordinariness of the everyday. And I also, tentatively, begin to use poetry as a way of helping us reflect on the ways we were learning together in classrooms. I experimented with creating poems from student writing, offering them to them as aresponse. I would do this intuitively, not exactly knowing what learning theory it fit into! I also tried to capture in poetic images some of the powerful learning occuring in my seminar on Paulo Freire.

bread and roses laid carefully
on the white cloth
He, the professor, had asked them
(For this final class on Paulo Freire)
To share their signs of hope
One by one, round the table
we spin the web
the classroom lambent
almost reverential

OUR HISTORICAL POSSIBILITIES: EVOLUTION AND FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION AS A FIELD OF STUDY

John M. Peters, (Chair) University of Tennessee
Peter Jarvis, University of Surrey
Ralph G. Brockett, University of Tennessee;
Ronald M. Cervero, University of Georgia
Phyllis M. Cunningham, Northern Illinois University
David Deshler, Cornell University;
Huey B. Long, University of Oklahoma;
Alan M. Thomas, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

This symposium is organized around the contents of a recently published book on adult education as a field of study.[1] Several of its authors will reflect on their own and others' earlier analyses of the evolution, achievements and future of the field. Symposium participants' involvement in the discussion will widen the analysis of the field's development, its multidisciplinary dimensions, and forces and trends shaping the future.

Introduction

University-based, formal study of adult education might have begun with the first graduate program in adult education, established at Columbia University in 1930, but the single best documentation of its relatively short history is known as the "black book". The black book, formally titled Adult Education: Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study (Jensen, Liveright and Hallenbeck, 1964), was the expression of a small band of adult education professors (known as the Commission of Professors of Adult Education) who labored for at least a decade on a map of the field of study. They had agonized over the actual and potential knowledge base of the field and they concentrated on shaping graduate curricula. They sought to capture the then-current thinking about the conceptual foundations of the field, and their hunt would take them into many disciplines and even into the field of practice itself. They even sought to describe the intricacies of the practice of adult education.

The black book communicated these professors' visions of the formal study of adult education to other scholars who later joined the expanding professorate in adult education and to the broader educational communities, and it has served as a guide to people concerned with the establishment of new graduate programs in adult education and who needed some conceptual basis for identifying a curriculum of graduate study.

The black book was thus a portrait of a field in process and in progress. However, in the late 1980's, The Commission of Professors decided that a companion to the black book needed to be written. The new book would reflect changes that took place since publication of the black book and project possible future growth in the field of university study. Seventeen professors, four of whom were authors in the black book, undertook the task of writing the companion volume. This paper contains excerpts from their chapter contributions to the new book.

Six Themes

The authors identified the objects of discourse in the field of study, the tools that people in the field have used to forge their studies, the locations in which people work, and the aims and ideologies that have guided people's inquiries - all elements that Foucault (1972) suggests should be included in an analysis of a field of study. Important changes in these elements have occurred in the field of study over the past quarter century, changes that suggest themes that characterize the growth of the field and its potential for further development.

Six themes can be discerned from an analysis of the collective contributions of the 17 authors. First, the field has significantly expanded its knowledge base and the composition of its several domains of knowledge. Second, early dependency of the field of study on related disciplines has lessened. Third, the paradigms of thought concerning research methodologies appropriate to the study of adult education have changed. Fourth, scholars in the field have developed a better understanding of the relationship between the field of study and the broader area of adult education practice, and they have exhibited a more sensitive and sophisticated approach to integrating the two. Fifth, graduate programs have grown exponentially since 1964, and they appear to be developing a common core of course domains in adult education. And sixth, the field of study has taken on a stronger international focus. Each of these themes are discussed below.

The Knowledge Base

The knowledge base is constituted of the objects of scholar and practitioner discourse about the field and its many elements. Formal knowledge is represented by the theories, models, concepts, descriptions, and data that university faculty members and students usually are concerned with in their study of the field. Several reviews of literature have chronicled noticeable shifts in the topics and scope of discourse about adult education since the era of the black book. Huey Long identifies in this book six domains of knowledge that be believes illustrate our current discourse about adult education. They are (1) andragogy, (2) learning projects, (3) participation in learning activities, (4) perspective transformation, (5) program planning, and (6) self-directed learning.

Long's discussion of this list suggests that the knowledge base is becoming more specialized and diversified. Except for program planning, the other five domains of Long's list could be considered as subsets of adult learning. An enlarged professorate with specific research responsibilities and greater opportunities for publication has increased research and dissemination of knowledge. Shifts in subtopics have continued since the 1970's. For example, research on adult learning continues, but the focus has shifted from the question of learning ability to questions related to adult lifespan development, cognitive structure, learning styles, and self-directed learning.

Program planning knowledge seems to be lurching to a new level of sophistication based on the work of several authors who have approached the topic from slightly different directions but who have attempted to base program planning on some theoretical foundations. Other examples include the increasing interest in history, in marked contrast to the how-to orientation of much of adult education published works prior to 1965.

Ralph Brockett's contribution to the book describes the ways in which the body of knowledge is disseminated and utilized. Publications have been used for at least four purposes: to share new information and ideas; to foster professional socialization and reaffirmation; promote critical thinking; and to stimulate development of new knowledge. However, teaching is another important strategy for disseminating knowledge. Graduate programs, workshops, and conferences are all important outlets for such dissemination. As we look to the future, several strategies for promoting dissemination of knowledge include expanding the literature base, reinforcing the notion of a "mainstream" literature base in adult education, recognizing the important place of historical literature in contemporary practice, promoting the dissemination and utilization of knowledge as an element of professional preparation and professional development activities, and creation of new opportunities for disseminating and utilizing the body of knowledge.

Relationship to Disciplines

The disciplines were the primary source of formal knowledge for the study of adult education in the black book era. However, evidence suggests that the relationship between adult education and the disciplines has changed since then. We now approach disciplines in adult education terms, with questions concerning the practice of adult education. Jarvis's introduction to the book points out that the knowledge base of related disciplines is largely omitted from adult educators' everyday thought and language and is regarded specifically as adult education knowledge. Perhaps the strongest evidence of the changing relationships between disciplines and the study of adult education is the current authors' own approach to discussing the disciplines. Instead of summarizing concepts, theories, models and other content that might reasonably "apply" to adult education, the authors describe related disciplines in terms of adult education.

As an example, Mark Tennant examines potential contributions of psychology in terms of principles of adult teaching and learning, which he claims have provided direction for the development of adult education practice and have set the agenda for the development of theory and research in adult education.

Similarly, Alan Knox's review of administration illustrates an important change in the way administration has been studied since 1964. Paul Essert's review of administration in the black book was almost totally a review of concepts, theories, and models found in the related disciplines, but Knox's review is almost totally in terms of adult education, and it is primarily a review of adult education literature on the subject. And, Alan Thomas points up another way in which this relationship has changed. In discussing the relationship between political science and adult education, Thomas portrays it as a two-way street, each field of inquiry having the capacity and the obligation to enrich the other. That understanding may help us find a reasonable balance between the increasing pressure to see adult education only in political terms and maintaining the integrity of adult education as, at the very least, a field of practice that involves all the complex facets of human individuals and their cultural aspirations.

Changing Paradigms and Theory-Practice Relationships

Themes three and four are combined for purposes of this discussion, for in the book Ron Cervero and Sharan Merriam present two parallel views concerning these features of the field of study. In fact, the evolution of views about theory and practice parallels changes in views about modes of inquiry that have occurred over the past sixty years. Four different viewpoints about the relationship between theory and practice in adult education have evolved. In the first view, adult education is carried out without reference to an organized body of formal knowledge. The second view posits that a body of knowledge developed through the scientific process should be applied to practice so that practice can be improved. The third view holds that the best way to improve practice is to uncover and critique the informal theory that practitioners use in their work. The fourth view presents a fundamental unity between theory and practice, highlights the ideological character of all knowledge, and argues that adult education can be improved by fostering emancipation.

The knowledge that is produced through research is a function of the questions the researcher asks and the methods used to answer those questions. Moreover, the questions raised and methods used are functions of the researcher's own world view. Different kinds of knowledge are produced in adult education, as a result of different world views, or paradigms of thought, that are held by researchers in the field. The relationship of research to the production of knowledge can be discussed in terms of three paradigms: the positivist, the interpretive, and the critical. Different implications for future research flow from a discussion of the assumptions underlying these paradigms and types of knowledge produced from inquiry grounded in each.

Graduate Programs

The number of graduate programs in adult education has increased dramatically since 1964, expanding from as few as 16 to 124 at the time of publication of the present book. The appearance of a consistent "core" of course domains has evolved, and specializations in course offerings are increasing in number. Program faculties remain relatively small, especially in terms of the number of full-time adult education professors per program. The greatest single number of programs have a full-time faculty consisting of two members. There is great variation among other programs, however, with the largest consisting of as many as 18 full-time faculty.

John Peters and Burt Kreitlow identify in their chapter a number of issues that remain unresolved by faculties of adult education. Among them is how to achieve a proper balance in basic and specialized courses. Another is how to effectively relate graduate study to the realities of adult education practice. Yet another concerns the appropriate distinctions between master's and doctoral degrees. The proper relationship of adult education to other programs of studies within and outside colleges of education represents another concern of program designers. Indeed, the ways in which programs are structured and named within their institutions are so great as to defy consistent identification of what actually constitutes (in name and organizational structure) a program in adult education. The role of the Commission of Professors in future development of graduate programs seems at least as vital as it was in the black book era.

Internationalization of Adult Education

North American adult educators have had increasing contact with adult educators and adult education world wide since the black book era. This is to be expected, but Phyllis Cunningham raises perhaps a more important question: To what degree has the knowledge base, which the black book had as a central concern, changed because of international influences? She argues that the very idea of a knowledge base has been challenged, including the positivistic paradigm on which this concept rests. Accordingly, she sought to identify international influences which affected the North American experience with knowledge, knowledge production, competing knowledges, and knowledge dissemination. If it is accurate to say that the prevailing thought guiding the professors who wrote the black book was Eurocentric culturally, limited to the United States, then the prevailing thought has serious challenges in the present time.

According to Cunningham, several sources of international challenge have occurred in the last 27 years. First of all, changes have resulted from forces inside North American academics and practice. Leaders such as Roby Kidd from inside academe, and Myles Horton outside of academe, have held a world view rather than a parochial view and have linked us to other world views and ideas. Imported intellectuals such as Kjell Rubenson who challenged our psychologism, United Kingdom intellectuals such as Sallie Westwood who challenged power and patriarchy, and mavericks who were willing to live their rhetoric such as John Ohliger, challenged the more parochial, functionalist oriented, positivistic interpreted status quo. These attacks on the dominant paradigm have changed the knowledge base.

Cunningham contends that the work of these individuals could not have had the impact that it did if ideological spaces had not been opened by ideas from the third world. Specifically, Paulo Freire's theory of liberatory education and the work of Rajesh Tandon of the Participatory Research Network and Budd Hall of the International Council for Adult Education, with their critique of knowledge production which forced debate on functionalism and positivism.

These internationalizing forces from both inside and outside academe and North America have resulted in a resistance which has allowed several university graduate programs to mount a more international focus and provide more than the dominant ideological curricular viewpoint. Furthermore, new organizations have come into being to promote this viewpoint (such as the Transformative Research Network), and new alternative sources for publishing and scholarly exchange have stressed international diversity. To the degree that North American adult educators pursue a dialogue with the third world, or "South", a more robust platform of ideas for dialogue will be generated where the language of possibility will challenge the language of prediction.

David Deshler, in a chapter on social, professional and academic issues in the study of adult education, expresses views similar to Cunningham's. He challenges the use of adult education as a tool of social policy to reproduce instrumental goals set by government and business and industry to primarily serve the ends of people who have power and wealth. He preferred the use of adult education as a major force in service of social movements for justice, peace, human rights, ecological sustainability, and empowerment, particularly among those who at present lack political and economic privilege.

Conclusion

It can be seen from the above selection of content from the present companion to the black book, that university study of adult education proceeds on the basis of a diversity of world views. These views shape our knowledge and its production. They shape our graduate programs, and their graduates are shaped, or shape themselves against this background. We have become a larger field of study in terms of numbers of professors, graduates, publications and specializations. And we have become richer in the knowledge that we have about the knowledge of adult education practice.

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[1] Peters, J.M. Jarvis, P. and Associates. Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field of Study. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991.

Note: Most of the contents of this paper have been excerpted from the book and supplements provided by some of its authors.

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"WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?": FROM SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION TO FUNCTIONALISM IN WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE U.S., CANADA AND THE U.K.

Fred M. Schied (Chair), Northern Illinois University
Michael Collins, University of Saskatchewan
Michael Welton, Dalhousie University
Jeff Zacharakis-Jutz, Northern Illinois University
Sallie Westwood, University of Leicester

The purpose of this discussion is to reintroduce workers' education to the discourse of adult education in North America. The discussants focus on the historical development of workers' education, its relationship to adult education and the movement away from social transformation to a more functionalist orientation.

Fred M. Schied

Introduction

Workers' education has long been at the very heart of adult education. In fact, some argue (though less frequently in the U.S.) that the very roots of adult education lie within the early workers' education movement. Much of the literature on adult eduction during the first part of this century concerned the education of workers. It is still central to much of the discussion of adult education in the U.K. Unfortunately, with the professionalization of American adult education in the 1920s, workers' education leaders became suspicious of an adult education organization sponsored by a foundation begun by one of labor's most notorious enemies, Andrew Carnegie.[1] For the most part, workers' education and adult education have gone their own separate ways in the U.S.[2] However, the split between workers' education and adult education occurred to a much lesser degree in Canada and not at all in the U.K., where workers' education has always held a significant place within the discourse on adult education.

By focusing on the historical development of workers' education within the U.S., Canada and the U.K., this symposium seeks to place workers' education within the context of European and North American industrialization and the rise of the labor movement. This session critically examines both 19th and 20th century examples of workers' education in order to trace the drift away from social transformation and towards a more functionalist and technocratic purpose. Viewing workers' education from the perspective of the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. allows one to focus on the interrelatedness of industrialization and the international development of the labor movement, while at the same time remaining cognizant of the differing social, economic and political differences within each country.

Michael Collins

Thomas Hodgskin and the Mechanics' Institutes

Since the Gulf War, even American intellectuals who thought otherwise now understand that talk about "the end of history" is bunk. And some academic adult educators, dismayed at how the business corporate ethos and neo-conservative political ascendancy (mis)shape modern adult education practice, are anxious to return our thoughts to the halcyon days when we were part of a social movement. For American adult educators such reflections mean invoking the work of Eduard Lindeman. The British tend to re-visit Richard Tawney, and Canadians -- by the same token -- should be resurrecting Ned Corbett. Recollections of a period when adult education had some links to the moral force of radical social democracy is part of the slight "critical turn" in our recent academic discourse. We need to reexamine the kind of vocational commitment which characterized adult education practice before the era of professionalization and functionalist ideology really took hold. However, for really dangerous knowledge (that is, critical discourse that retains a cutting edge) we can look directly to the historical connections between adult education, worker education, and the socialist project.

Thomas Hodgskin was the principle co-founder of the London Mechanics' Institute in 1823. A politically radical journalist, J.C. Robertson, was the other key figure in the establishment of this early initiative for the education of working men.[3] By the 1830's there were more than 600 mechanics' institutes in the U.K., and the movement reached international proportions when similar organizations were founded in Europe and North America.

To an extent, the aspirations of Thomas Hodgskin and his friend would seem to have been fulfilled. But within a year both of them had been removed from any position of influence with the London Mechanics' Institute and the movement as a whole. Eminent middle-class philanthropists (liberal progressives of the time such as Lord Brougham, Francis Place, and Dr. George Birkbeck), brought in to add prestige and attract funds, had little difficulty in side-lining the original founders. The death-knell was sounded for Hodgskin's idea of an association controlled by the workers.

An account of how middle-class hegemony asserted itself over the institute, determining their functionalist adult education programs, has been published elsewhere.[4] And readily accessible original sources confirm that Thomas Hodgskin, not Lord Brougham, must be credited as the major figure responsible for the founding of the movement. As for Brougham's views on worker education, in an address to a middle-class audience at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute in 1835, he talked about "refining the appetites of workers, and removing them from low, sensual gratifications."[5] In 1826 a course on political economy given by Thomas

Hodgskin at the London Mechanics' Institute was discontinued because it questioned the validity of orthodox economics.

Undoubtedly, Thomas Hodgskin's work occupies an important position at the juncture of organized adult education and worker education. For G.D.H. Cole, the famous historian of the British working class and of socialist thought, Hodgskin should be regarded as the "pioneer of the idea of Independent Working-Class Education, though he was soon to have successors in the field."[6] Cole also acknowledged the significance of Hodgskin's contribution to the origins of British socialism. Another leading British historian, A.J.P. Taylor, suggested that Hodgskin was preparing the ground for Marxian Socialism, particularly Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capitalism. According to Taylor, "Hodgskin anticipated Marx, not only in proposing a theory of surplus value, but also in implying a class interpretation of History."[7]

Hodgskin wrote about the new idea for a worker's institute in the October 11, 1823 edition of the Mechanics' Magazine. The article included this appeal:

> Men [sic] had better be without education than be educated by their rulers; for then education is but the mere breaking in of the steer to the yoke.

Adult educators may not care to deal with the contradictions and challenges which engagement with Hodgskin's work entails. But it is worth thinking about the extent to which the expansion and decline of the mechanics institutes pre-figured the trajectory of modern adult education practice. Certainly, from the perspective outlined here, a focus on the workplace as a context for adult education requires us to identify whose interests we intend to serve. We have come down on one side of the fence or the other. Contestation is probably more conducive to the survival of modern adult education in these times than the futile quest for consensus formation and professional status.

Michael Welton

Historical Reflections on the Challenge for Labour Education

In mid-January 1992 I managed to get observer status at the Atlantic Region Labour Education Centre (ARLEC) on "Globalization and Competitiveness." Trade union delegates from the beleaguered Maritime labour movement gathered to consider the way ahead for labour. Many interesting observations could be made, but I was struck, once again, with the depth of the split between "adult education" and "workers' education." One of the sub-texts, as we academics like to say, was the bitter frustration of working class members with university teachers. "We don't need to hear you tell us that the way out is to create political unity in the Maritimes. What can we do, right now, to stop our jobs from going down the tube?" The situation in the Maritimes seems to be this: A select few academics are permitted to speak to the workers. But essentially, academic adult education runs on its own track, and the trade unions conduct their own educational affairs. An autonomous workers' education organization like the WEA does not exist. The only university that works with labour, as part of its mandate, is St. Francis Xavier University. Only one trade union educator has ever contacted our adult education program at Dalhousie University. Workplace related education, for most of my students, means administering management-initiated and oriented training programs.

My argument is that "workers' education" has always been contested terrain in Canada. I do think our Canadian adult education movement is more communitarian in orientation than the U.S. Within our tradition, we easily understand that the purpose of adult education is, in good part, the creation of equality of condition for collectivities and not just equal opportunity for individuals. "Workers' education" was not officially expunged from "adult education" in Canada. Nonetheless, the historical record in Canada suggests pretty strongly that creating an education which provides the labour movement with well-informed leaders and activists who would promote radical transformation of the social order for the benefit of all workers has been very bitterly contested by various stakeholders. In a recent paper, I tried to show just how deep the tensions among the workers' self-directed education in their spaces, university-based academics and several prophetic voices outside really was.[8] One does have to admit that the field of adult education is bound up with questions of just whose knowledge counts as legitimate.

In this symposium I want to focus attention on a rather tricky problem. Promoting autonomous workers' education has not exactly galvanized our universities. Canadian industrial workers have always been suspicious of the "scraps of knowledge" universities seemed to offer. But often the worst enemies of autonomous workers' education have been leaders of the labour movement itself. Why is this? How do we make sense of this? This presentation, then, focuses on a critical examination of two independent workers' education association: the Vancouver WEA and the Halifax Maritime Labour Institute. I argue that workers' education was contested terrain for the various stakeholders involved in the labour movement while at the same time facing repression by state forces. The Vancouver WEA was contested terrain in which the University of British Columbia, Communists and Social Democrats fought over the control of the organization. Moreover, a critical examination of the Maritime Labour Institute in the 1940s reveals that some well-know leaders of North American workers' education (such as Mark Starr), refused to work with the Institute due to its alleged acceptance of "Communist" speakers. The Institute (and Dalhousie University) came under scrutiny by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, while the sponsoring university increasingly grew nervous with its involvement with the Institute. This cold-war hysteria is all the more interesting because the curriculum of the post-WWII Maritime Labour Institute had, in my view, clearly shifted toward a functionalist approach (workers' education to create harmonious relations between labour and management). It seems to be extraordinarily dangerous to allow the working class to actually think for itself. The case studies of the Vancouver WEA and the Halifax Maritime Labour Institute reveal conflicting orientations--liberal and transformative--at play within the tumultus labour scene in post-WWII Canada.

Jeff Zacharakis-Jutz

Workers' Education in the U.S. During the Industrial Labor Movement Between the 1920s and 1950s

Workers' education in the U.S. during the industrial labor movement between the 1920s and 1950s initially sought to integrate and commit individuals and groups to larger collective actions in order to achieve political goals and clarify societal ideals such as justice, liberty and equality. In this sense workers' education was a site of contestation where the labor movement fought the government and capitalists for the minds and hearts of workers. When workers controlled their own education, they controlled their own knowledge. In contrast, when government and corporations controlled the education of workers, they controlled the knowledge which potentially could liberate workers from their subservient role in society.

Workers' education should be seen as part and parcel of a larger workers' movement. J.B.S. Hardman best captured this relationship when he wrote in 1922: "Education is not a thing in itself but a variety, perhaps a higher caliber, of the great task of organization."[9] Education for the sake of education, transferring of skills and knowledge, was antithetical to labors' need to animate and commit workers toward a vision of social democracy.

In the late 1920s the Affiliated Schools for Women Workers was established to coordinate working women's education programs, provide fund-raising support, and build a broad-based network of education services for working women. In 1938, the Affiliated Schools reorganized and became the American Labor Education Service (ALES) in order to expand its services to include men. The ALES is one of the only educational organizations, other than Highlander Folk School, to have survived throughout the industrial labor movement's Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) period. For this reason, its history is useful in identifying some of the trends which occurred in workers' education between the 1920s and 1950s.

Throughout the combined history of the Affiliated Schools and the ALES, there was a continual struggle to operate on limited funds while addressing growing needs. In 1933, its financial fortunes improved when then director Hilda Smith accepted a position with the Federal Emergency Relief Agency (FERA) to provide work for unemployed teachers and the Rockefeller Foundation gave the organization a three year, $70,000 grant to support its cooperation with FERA.[10] A new era was entered as the Affiliated Schools became a partner with not only the federal government but also the corporate foundation structure. As with the labor movement, it appears that government and corporate participation breathed new life into workers' education. The price though was a loss of independence.

After Rockefeller's three year grant, Affiliated Schools developed greater financial dependence upon labor unions. Men such as Eduard Lindeman and Mark Starr, were for the first time appointed to its board of directors. By the end of the 1930s, the Affiliated Schools successor organization, ALES, had been usurped by union education departments.[11] This transition became complicated by the simultaneous trend toward greater reliance upon government, In a 1936-37 report, the organization's staff asked several probing questions about the ownership of workers' education:

> How far is it possible to interest public education authorities in the long term objectives of workers' education? Can public financial assistance be obtained by independent workers' education programs as in countries abroad? What measure of control can or will be developed by the labor movement in connection with activities financed by public funds? What relation can and should be worked out between the public and private groups working in the field?

These questions are in sharp contrast with the purpose of workers' education as articulated by Hardman a decade earlier.

A brief examination of the ALES's history exemplifies the institutionalization of workers' education. By the 1950s workers' education had developed into a business, totally dependent upon government and union support. No longer calling for social change through education owned by the rank and file, in the 1950s labor educators were professionals calling for "responsible" action.

The CIO's dependence upon government intervention and centralization of the industrial labor movement in order to better order and regulate the rank and file negatively impacted workers' education, killing the liberal notion of education has originally envisioned. In essence, workers' education had become another means to discipline instead of animate workers.

Notes

1 Jonathan D. Bloom, "Worker's Education and adult education," in Breaking new ground: The development of workers' education in north america, Rae Wahl Rohfeld, ed. (Proceedings, Syracuse University Kellogg Project, 1989), 207-213.

2 For the latest expression, see Gregory Mantsios, "Worker education: Developing an approach to worker empowerment," in The re-education of the

American working class, ed. Steven London, et al. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 38-40.

3 The absence of any concern for the education of working class women was an aspect of early nineteenth century capitalist society, though Hodgskin himself was a forceful public advocate for women's rights and freedom from oppression.

4 Michael Collins, "The mechanics' institutes: Education for the working Man?" Adult Education (23) 1:21-37.

5 Henry Lord Brougham, "Practical considerations upon the education of the people," Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham, Vol. 3 (London: Longman, Browne, et al., 1838), 174.

6 G.D.H. Cole, "Introduction." in Thomas Hodgskin, Labour defended against the claims of capitalism (London: The Labour Publishing Co., 1922), 10.

7 A.J.P. Taylor, "Introduction." in Elie Halevy, Thomas Hodgskin (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1956), 10.

8 Michael Welton, "Dangerous knowledge: Canadian workers' education in the decades of discord," Studies in the Education of Adults, April, 1991.

9 J.B.S. Hardman, "Report of the education department of the fifth biennia Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America," Documentary history of the amalgamated clothing workers of America (New York: ACWA, 1922), 245-246.

10 Marion Roydhouse, "Partners in progress: The affiliated schools for women workers, 1928-1939," in Sisterhood and solidarity: Workers' education for women, 1914-1984, ed. Joyce L. Kornbluh and Mary Frederickson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 198.

11 Roydhouse, 201-202.

The Intellectual Roots of Individualism and Social Reform in Adult Education in the USA and Canada

Dr. Michael Welton (Chair), Dalhousie University
Sherman Stanage, Northern Illinois University
Ken Melichar, Piedmont College
Amy Rose, Northern Illinois University

Ken Melichar[1]

The Sociological Roots of Adult Education: The Intellectual Roots of Individualism and Social Reform in Adult Education in the U.S.A. and Canada

One way to understand the intellectual roots of the apparent split between individualism and social reform in adult education is to step back and place adult education within a broad sociocultural contest. In other words, sociologically speaking, the split between individualism and social reform in adult education can be understood by placing adult education within a broader constellation of social factors. At various points in time a constellation of factors (or discourses if you will) emerges which takes on a life of its own and in so doing becomes reified (Berger and Luckman (1966). The constellation becomes part of what Raymond Williams (1977) calls the selective tradition.

It is not self evident, as Michel Foucault (1981) reminds us, that a particular constellation emerges when it does. The constellation of social and cultural practices which becomes the selective tradition favors the advantages of the few to the disadvantages of the many. The selective tradition, Williams (1977) reminds us, is neither static nor omnipotent. The constellation of forces/practices which make up the selective tradition must be maintained. This means that the selective tradition embedds itself in society by the process of socialization of which adult education is a part. Furthermore, the constellation which makes up the selective tradition is only a part of the totality of cultural and social practices. It is a selection from e totality of these practices which reinforces the hierarchical structuring of society and in that sense it becomes hegemonic (Gramsci 1970). The other social/cultural practices are forgotten, repressed, coopted, seen as deviant and the like (Williams 1977); in short they are marginalized.

Because the dominant constellation is selective means that there are available alternative cultural practices. But we do not want to make the mistake of identifying all alternative practices as progressive or emanicipatory. There are residual cultural practices which are holdovers from an earlier constellation (Williams 1977) such as fundamentalism. There are also emergent practices (Williams 1977) some of which are reformist (such as individualism) and some of which are emancipatory (such as socialism, although the concept of socialism is undergoing a critical reconstruction because of changing socio-historical circumstances). The fact remains that there are practices which counter the selective tradition and in adult education, the work of Freire, Horton (and their supporters) come to mind as well as the recent work in feminism, and/or critical theory.

In countering the dominant constellation, it is necessary to reawaken the past (Benjamin, 1969; Buck-Morss 1989); to bring to the level of consciousness that which has been repressed (Eagleton 1983); to bring in voices which have been marginalized (Freire 1970) or seen as deviant (Foucault 1979); and to engage in border crossing as postmodernists would have it (Aronowtiz and Giroux 1991). By reawakening the past or bringing to memory that which has been forgotten or repressed (Benjamin 1969), it becomes possible to show that the present constellation is a social construct and that it could have and can be otherwise. By examining the historicity of adult education, we can use the past to critique the future (Benjamin 1969).

What I want to do is to sketch the broad constellation of social forces and practices within which adult education emerged and developed. I also want to suggest that, at least, in the United States, the split between social reform and individualism is a false one and that the social reform is individualism. To do this requires us to see adult education within a broader frame.

The factors that make up the broader constellation include economic, political and cultural forces and practices. During the formative years of adult education, the U.S. economy was moving from competitive capitalism to corporative capitalism (Kerbo 1989), and now is shifting toward global capitalism (Jameson 1991; Harvey 1989). Concomitant with this development, there was the emergence of mass production and a consumer culture. While the economic institutions were changing there was the rise of urbanization as immigrants flocked to the cities as did rural people within the United States. Simultaneously, the state was becoming increasingly interventionist in all spheres of social life. The dominant political ideology became associated with individualism which resonated throughout society. Furthermore, equality came to be defined in individualistic terms as equality of opportunity where individuals compete against each other for unequal rewards and where the outcome is based on individual achievement. This was accompanied by the dominance of Protestanism which privileges the individual over the collective. The major social institutions became characterized by instrumental rationality or technical rationality in which positivism and systems theory are privileged. This type of discourse comes to dominate all spheres of social life (Marcuse 1964; Horheimer and Adorno 1972). As such, expertise replaces democracy within the public sphere and other spheres including adult education. Knowles' eclipsing of Dewian democratic practice is an obvious case in point. In short, the dominant constellation includes Protestantism, equal opportunity, pragmatism, achievement, rugged individualism, capitalism, consumer culture, instrumental rationality, specialization, the expert, positivism, and state interventionism -- welfare state. It is within constellation that adult education must be understood.

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Amy D. Rose

The historical roots of adult education in the United States

While the purpose of this symposium is to examine the schism between individualistic and social reform approaches to adult education, this paper will take another take, analyzing instead the various permutations that adult education has gone through, as an agent of larger organizations (especially philanthropic foundations) seeking to bring about some kind of social change through individual development. It is argued here, that the issue is not a division between those advocating crass individualism and those working toward social change (radical or otherwise), but rather the particular vision of change advocated by those promoting professional adult education.

The confusion of these issues has had several consequences. In the first place, the essential difference between social reform movements and adult education have been lost. While certainly all movements for social change utilize some educational techniques if they are to persuade, this does not make them educational agencies. Additionally, those groups which do rely primarily on education are, it has been argued, primarily liberal-humanist, because indeed they do focus on individual change. Additionally, the confusion of ends has allowed adult educators to all agree with each and to allow an illusion of consensus to develop over the purposes of adult education. Finally, this central question has become how the field lost its concern with social change, instead of analyzing the competing visions of this change and how they developed. Further, the place of adult education with the U.S. educational structure, its continuing marginality and reliance on philanthropy and federal emergencies have all played a part in the direction adult education has taken. This presentation will begin a discussion of some of the facets of adult education and how they have been affected by funding.

While adults have always learned and indeed particular institutions for the education of adults are quite old, the professional adult education movement is usually dated from the 1920s and the founding of the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE). The organization was founded through the efforts of the Carnegie Corporation of American which had deemed the area of adult education worthy of foundation support. This Carnegie support illustrates the way that the field has been shaped by its funding agencies. The Carnegie interest was derived from several different issues and embodied by progressive and profoundly conservative aspects. Embedded within Carnegie concern for adult education was an emphasis on cultivation of the individual - something which the policymakers at Carnegie felt was missing in general education. Thus, the Carnegie interest in adult education was based on its efforts to change society through the development of outstanding individual leaders. According to their view, American society was being overwhelmed by bureaucracies; schools and universities were especially hard hit as they were made to take on new additions to the curriculum. In trying to meet its social demands, the school was abandoning its claim to the development of leaders. Adult education would fill this vacuum.

The Carnegie view of adult education was narrowly conceived to be nonvocational, process oriented, and designed to help mature individuals find meaning in life. It was also to promote community life and individual participation in communities and thus return a measure of control over daily life to the individual. This attitude owed much to the Hooverian notion of the "rugged individual". Contrary to the way he is usually viewed, Hoover envisioned the American individual as a leader who lived within a community. Hoover saw this individualism as the key to American survival. It wedded individualism with cooperation through voluntarism, thus resisting governmental intervention and collectivism as he called it.

Although, Hoover does not seem toave been directly involved with adult education, he was quite involved with the Carnegie foundations and in fact became head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The idea of the cultivation of the individual for a fuller role in American society permeates the early writings and underscores some of the seeming contradictions in the early history.

With this background, early adult education followed a program of developed the individual, which of necessity came to focus on individual psychology and learning. How else to achieve individual development? Yet adult education never achieved the dreams of the Carnegie vision. It languished instead of soaring, disintegrating into arguments over professionalization which was exactly what adult education had been seen as avoiding in the first place. The changes advanced were really some throwbacks to some romanticized vision about nineteenth century America, rather than attainable goals in a cultural diverse, pluralistic society. Yet the notion that adult education could achieve this kind of social change has lingered. Thus, the Ford Foundation saw adult education as a means of developing its own version of a modern society, focusing on the liberal arts, technology, and community building.

Because of the lack of governmental support, adult education has had flexibility and remains outside of bureaucratic structures. But this lack of funding has also meant that no inner vision for adult education has developed. It does seem clear, however, that the dichotomy between focus on the individual and on social change is not at all proved. All of those interested in aduleducation have used it for some form of social change, but that has varied enormously and within the United States, the focus on the individual as the source of social change has meant that a particular kind of programming choice took hold in the 1920s and continues through today.

Michael R. Welton

The Historical Roots of Adult Education in Canada

I am quite certain that most of my American adull education colleagues simply assume that Canadian adult education is but a "northern version", or a variation on a basic North American theme, Lockean individualism. Do we in Canada not take isolated individuals, characterized by certain natural rights and a goal-oriented rationality, as our starting point? Is not our Canadian notion of the "common good" nothing more than the sum of individual goods? Aren't we too people who can hardly see class and community because the individual fills our eyes? (Horowitz 1968, pp. 5-6). Is not North American adult education easily comprehensible within this framework of shared liberal assumptions? Isn't Roby Kidd our Malcolm...OISE our Northern Illinois...Corbett just like Lindeman?

From a lunar perspective, this does appear to be the case. In fact, the influential "fragment thesis" of Louis Hartz (1955, 1964) accentuated the similarities between English-Canada and the USA. But I would like to argue that viewed up close English Canadian political and intellectual culture as well as Canadian regionalism creates unAmerican characteristics of English Canada (French Canada is even more unAmerican), and shapes the way English Canadian adult educators have envisioned the function of adult education in society.

I: The UnAmerican Characteristics of English Canada

Hartz overestimated the power of American liberalism in Canada. We are a bourgeois liberal fragment touched with toryism. The sway of liberalism in Canada has not been total. Tory values have always been present in Canada, from our Loyalist beginnings to the disintegrating present. One can contrast our family-compact whiggery with Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy in the US. Our Eng-Canadian political and business elites have always been willing to use public power to achieve national purposes. Our Conservatives are not Republicans. Our liberals are not quite Democrats. And we actually have socialist parties that get elected. Socialism in Canada is not unAmerican; Canadian socialism has been Protestant, labourist, Fabian because it is British. We in Eng-Canada are much more likely to think of the community or collectivity before we think of the individual's rights or needs. It is bred into our bones that "individual freedom must have a communal character, or at least an essentially communal aspect, expressing and manifesting itself in the way in which the individual participates in and contributes to the communal practices of his society" (Wellmer 1989-90, p. 228-229).

II: Social Patterning of Canada favours regional commitment

To be sure, one can speak of the experience of regionalism in Canada and the US. But regional identification leads Canadians to reinforce their communalist orientation, that is, to stress social qualities that differentiate people rather human qualities that make them the same. By contrast in the US regions, the liberal ideology emphasizes the equality of the individual within the nation. Our Canadian regional experience leads us to perceive people as "groups" or "communities". This communalist perception (our "limited identities" as Canadians) is deeply rooted in our history. We in Eng-Canada are much more likely to see ourselves as particular communal entities under a sovereign crown than an all-embracing sovereign people. It is almost inconceivable that America could permit First Nations self-determination. It isn't in Canada.

III: Adult Education Thought and Practice in English-speaking Canada

My argument is that the communalist mentalité of Eng-Canadian intellectual culture frames and shapes the way Eng-Canadian adult educators have envisioned the purpose of adult education. It is instructive, in the light of this hypothesis, to explore (1) the dissimilar origins of the AAAE (1926) and the CAAE (1935); (2) the communitarian orientation of our leading adult education thinkers in Canada from 1935-1951; (3) our most celebrated adult education project, the Antigonish Movement, understood as a particular form of communitarian action (Catholic organicism interacts with regional deprivation consciousness); (4) our reluctant professionalism (three of our leading post-WWII Canadian thinkers, Guy Henson, J. Roby Kidd and Alan Thomas, are communitarian liberals); (5) the communitarian fragment-presence of resistance to both welfare-state individualism and the neo-conservative attempt to undermine the unAmerican nature of Eng-Canada.

It may well be that English-Canadians (one could add Quebecers as well) still have traditions that can work as a source of resistance to this miserable phase of corporate liberalism.

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APPENDIX 1

Papers Submitted to the International Graduate Student Pre-Conference.
May 14 - 15, 1992

Some Philosophical Considerations for Adult Education Development in Taiwan, R.O.C.

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This paper is based on research conducted to investigate philosophical considerations for adult education development in Taiwan, Republic of China. The paper includes a brief synthesis of the process, a synopsis of findings, discussions, implications, and a concluding comment.

Research Process

Kenneth Benne's (1975, pp. 67-82) work, "Some Philosophical Issues in Adult Education", helps identify the fundamental issues concerning adult education. Those issues revolve around three clusters of assumptions - human nature, the nature of learning, and the nature of pedagogical authority. Benne highlights three aspects of human nature by means of contrast: 1) man as continuous and/or discontinuous with nature; 2) individual man and/or social man; and 3) man as doer and/or thinker. In addition, he discusses the nature of learning and knowledge in terms of three principal conceptions: 1) the method of authority (the rationalist theory of knowledge); 2) the method of induction (the empiricist theory of knowledge) and 3) the method of experimentation (the experimentalist theory of knowledge). As for the nature of pedagogical authority, two sub-clusters of assumptions are examined: 1) the role of pedagogical authority, and 2) the source of pedagogical authority. Consequently, the three clusters of assumptions serve as the components of the study's framework.

The educational thoughts of John Dewey and Three Principles of the People (as espoused by Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek) are the sources of evidence for the study. The Three Principals of the People, represent the proclaimed foundations of Taiwan's education. The Three Principles, in turn, are of Nationalism, Democracy, and People's Livelihood. John Dewey's educational philosophy has exercised significant influences on modern education in Taiwan.

A qualitative approach to documentary analysis serves as the methodology. A selection of literature has been purposively studied. An iterative process was followed in the analysis of the major sourcebooks selected.

Findings

The following figures show a synopsis of the findings derived from the educational thoughts of John Dewey and The Three Principles of the People, as incorporated into three clusters of assumptions in the framework.

Benne's Framework	(A) John Dewey	(B) The Three Principles of the People
The Nature of Man	Man in Relation to Nature - Man as continuous with nature - Man as distinctive being - Man and nature as interdependent Individual Man in Relation to Society - Ind. as continuous with society - Individual as significant - Ind. and society as interdependent Man as Doer in Relation to as Thinker - Reflective thought involving action - Doing with reflection - Doing and thinking as interactive	Man in Relation to Nature - Man as originating in nature - Man as aiming at humanization - Mind and matter as unified Individual Man in Relation to Society - Society as the home base of ind. - Individual making service his aim - Society and ind. as interdependent Man Doer in Relation to as Thinker - Action as easy & knowledge as difficult - Philosophy of action - Unity of knowledge and action; inequality in ability to think or to do
Comparison between (A) and (B)	Similarities: objecting to philosophical dualisms; in favor of the interdependence and unity between the extreme opposites Differences: - The Three Principles tend to place great emphasis on humanities, social purposes, and people's inequality in ability to think or to do. - The Three Principles classify persons into marked-off classes (as the knowing-oriented, the action-oriented, or something in between); whereas Dewey argues that each individual continues his own class.	
The Nature of Learning	- Learning as experimentation integrating method of authority and the method of induction - Learning as reflective experience - Discussing knowledge from an epistemological standpoint; yet viewing knowledge as integrated into morals - Highlighting applicability of knowledge - Not in favour of the traditional learning (merely relying on books and the learned persons) - Personal experiences as inadequate as their defects associated with those of sensationalism and empiricism	- Great Learning, based upon philosophical and scientific methods, as the heart of knowledge - Promoting scientific method - Discussing knowledge as mixed with moral cultivation - Highlighting pragmatic value of knowledge - Not in favour of the traditional learning merely relying on books - Personal experience and theory as interdependent
Comparison between (A) and (B)	Similarities: scientific method of experimentation as the best way of learning; the applicability and pragmatic value of knowledge; the integration of knowledge into morals; not in favor of the traditional learning and personal experience narrowly defined and operated. Difference: - Knowledge is viewed as mixed with moral cultivation in the Three Principles whereas Dewey discusses knowledge in epistemological sense. - Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek tend to conceive of the source of knowledge as associated with the inner nature; whereas Dewey disagrees that knowledge can actively spring from the inner mind.	

Benne's Framework	(A) John Dewey	(B) The Three Principles of the People
The Nature of Pedagogical Authority	The Role of Pedagogical Authority - Two areas of knowledge concerning subject matter and pedagogical profession as essential to pedagogical authority - Teachers as director, guide, leader as well as exemplar, expert, and therapist - Promoting appropriate learning methodology and environment as the central function The Source of Pedagogical Authority - Disfavoring rational being and tradition as the appropriate source of pedagogical authority - Reflective experience as the requirements of confronting situation as to mthe source of pedagogical authority - Continuity in democracy and experience	The Role of Pedagogical Authority - Teaching and nourishing as the basic function of education - Teacher as a paragon of virtue and learning as well as exemplar, expert, and therapist - Cultivating students' moral characters as the central function The Source of Pedagogical Authority - Ultimate goals and tradition gaining acceptance as to the source of pedagogical authority - The Three Principles of the People as the ideology as to the source of pedagogical authority - The requirements of confronting situation recommended as the source of pedagogical authority in the Three Principles - Ethics, Democracy, and Science
Comparison between (A) and (B)	Similiarities: knowledge in both subject matter and Pedagogical Profession; teacher with multiple roles; the ideal source of pedagogical authority lying in the continuous growth and extension of knowledge and experiences. Differences: - The Three Principles place great emphasis on the role and function of pedagogical authority in relation to students' moral cultivation. - The Three Principles acknowledge ultimate goals and tradition; whereas Dewey disfavors rational being and tradition as the source of pedagogical authority. - Dewey's democratic ideal highlight the extensive share of common interest within a group and the free interaction among groups; whereas, the Three Principles stress disciplinary quality within a large society as the democratic ideal.	

Discussions

The findings regarding human nature suggest that people are not brought forth in terms of Either-ors. That means, for example, human beings by nature have both animal attributes and distinctively human characteristics, including both individuality and sociability, and capacities of thinking and doing.

Generally speaking, John Dewey and the Three Principles are congruous in integrating various dualisms. Nevertheless, one of the inconsistencies between them is that Dewey did not make an issue of man's different natural endowments, whereas Sun Yat-sen saw such an issue as significant enough to characterize people according to their natural endowments into marked-off classes such as discoverers, operators, and promoters (in turn, the knowing-oriented, the action-oriented, something in between) Sun Yat-sen's recognition of the importance of providing people with appropriate education according to their natural endowments may represent an effective educational strategy. But, it needs clarification that appropriate education is not provided by means of dividing people into classes to whom only particular training is given. Rather, appropriate education, in a democratic society, should be provided by means of making various adequate education available for people to choose, depending on personal dispositions as well as personal choices.

Both Dewey and the Three Principles stress that education is life. Since education is life, the content of education is as broad as whatever is embraced in life. Hence, knowledge and learning, if merely depending on books, are not adequate. The genuine knowledge and learning should be a continuous reconstruction of personal experiences, which also incorporate theories from books and/or the learned persons into personal reflective thought.

The findings suggest that education should recognize the significance of intellectual and moral cultivation as well as the pragmatic and practical qualities of education. Literally, such content of education is concerned with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes about how to adequately function as a person in relation to nature, family, community, society, nation, and the world. Such description of educational content seems to particularly reflect the arena of adult education for the developmental tasks of adulthood are supposedly comprehensive.

The findings also reveal that the ideal learning methodology is the method which involves reflective thinking and experience as experimentation. This experimental method features problem-orientedness and learner-centeredness. Such two features of the experimental method have actually pointed out the changed relationships between adult learners and adult educators. In traditional schooling, a teacher usually performs the authoritative role in the sense that she/he imposes the purposes, contents, and methods of learning on learners. In the experimental method of learning the role of adult educator should shift to a role as helper, guide, or facilitator. For the learners, instead of the teacher, have become the center of learning situation.

Nevertheless, performing as a non-dictative authority does not mean that a teacher can withdraw her/his responsibilities from a teaching-learning situation. On the contrary, an educator, practicing the experimental method, is actually faced with more critical challenges, for she/he needs to be very knowledgeable about her/his content of expertise, the learners she/he directs, and the pedagogical profession.

According to the findings, educators inevitably perform roles, and are responsible for promoting environments and methodologies conducive to students' learning (including the cultivation of moral character), and assisting learners in evaluating consequences. In a learning group, an educator needs to facilitate group participation that will enhance the individual learner to learn from other members. The group participation itself is, in effect, the primary source of social control in an educational situation. Finally, within democratic education, educators and learners should share a common belief that the source of knowledge and learning actually lies in the growing and extensive community of shared and evaluated experiences.

Implications

According to Benne (1957, pp. 67-82), the ultimate purpose of philosophic considerations for adult education is to help adult educators and adult learners reflect upon the central challenge of making rational choice and judgements as required in educational situations.

With "making rational choices" in mind, the implications, in a practical sense, can be drawn for the curricula, research, and development of adult education in Taiwan. However, the researcher's knowledge and understanding of the larger frameworks of adult education, and of this particular sociocultural context of Taiwan and its confronting situation are incorporated into consideration.

In recent years, a great effort has been made to define and institutionalize adult education in Taiwan. In spite of the puzzle about why the great effort has been delayed until now - almost forty years later than the policy of adult education (as shown in the two supplementary chapters to the Three Principles of the People) was implied by Chiang Kai-shek in 1953, the issue of concern now ought to be: how should people in Taiwan take up such opportunity and challenge of this currently prevailing movement of adult education?

Educational reform and revitalization are not only the means but also the goals to which all educators and educationists should be committed. At least three defects "promotionisms" (meaning the overwhelming emphasis on the entrance into further schooling), "formalism" (meaning the overwhelming emphasis on the diploma instead of genuine knowledge), and "isolationism" (meaning the separation of school learning from the reality), that are mainly associated with school education have been pointed out by Chiang Kai-shek in 1953. Clearly enough, these defects would adversely affect the aims, content, and methods of education in general. As a participant and product of the schooling system in Taiwan, the author has personally observed and experienced educational situations with great emphases on teacher-centered instruction (heavily relying on lectures, textbooks), isolation of classroom learning from the social reality, discrete and irrelevant subject learning, exams and grade-driven learning and evaluation, etc.

In author's judgements, the environment of adult education is likely to provide all systems involved (i.e. organizations, educators, and learners) with a good chance to reform the foregoing defects and problems. The arena of adult education presents itself as a much broader scope (with less restriction as compared with schooling) open to various educational theories and practices. If the arguments and propositions as presented in preceding discussions are acceptable, a great deal of implications can be drawn for adult education in Taiwan. The examples of implications will be related to the aims, the content and methods of adult education

In Taiwan, the current official statement of the educational aims (in general) reads as "to enrich the living of individuals, to develop the existence of society, to promote the livelihood of people, and to continue the life of the nation." Such a statement is appropriate as far as adult education is truly based upon human nature as discussed. Accordingly, the responsibility of education that is based upon human nature is to help develop the inborn tendencies inclusive of all possibilities and to bridge the dualities rather than to create artificial separation. In other words, the educational concerns about man and nature, individual and society, and thinker and doer should not be treated as extreme opposites.

From the author's understanding and experiences, the prevailing educational situation in Taiwan is that goal-setting is largely done by drawing primarily upon so-called authoritative theories and inflexible policies. Once goals are set, they are often treated as unchanging ends. Moreover, even the good educational objectives fail due to the lack of a unity of aims and processes. Thus, a more important issue perhaps regards how adult educators should treat educational aims. According to Dewey (1966, p. 110), an aim "denotes the result of any natural process brought to consciousness and made a factor in determining present observation and choice of ways of acting." Thus, good educational aims should not be the unchanged ends but should be derived from the existing condition and the intrinsic interests and needs of the learners. Besides, good educational aims are capable of being translated into content and methods of learning experiences.

Since Taiwan's society is increasingly progressing toward democracy, adult educators there, while formulating learning objectives, may need to reconsider how to include various sources of ideas (i.e. their personal knowledge and experiences of subject matter, pedagogical profession, the learners they direct, and the suggestions from learners) more than the imposed authoritative theories and policies. The learning objectives and goals should not be treated as fixed and rigid, but be flexible and subject to change as required by existing situations. And, in practice, the objective needs to be incorporated into learning activities which are directly interconnected with the content and the methods of learning.

Since the aims of adult education include the reconciliation of dualism, the content and methods of adult education should consequently have the attribute of integrating various intellectual antitheses - such as labor and leisure, intellectual and practical studies, physical (naturalistic) and social (humanistic) studies, culture and vocation, etc. Note that the integration of those antitheses are applied not only to content but also to methods.

In the author's judgement, it is perhaps not difficult for adult educators in Taiwan to accept the fact that knowledge and the content of education are as broad as life. With such a belief, adult educators would need to reconsider an alternative to the traditional approach that regards books as knowledge and teachers' lectures as the instrumentation of teaching and learning. The alternative educational approach may unify the content and methods of learning and create a learning environment of problem-orientedness and learner-centeredness.

For the development of Taiwan's adult education, retaining the emphasis on the integration of morals and knowledge is important. Yet, what is critical is to promote an adequate and appropriate learning methodology through which learners are led to the constant reorganization of their personal experiences, and moreover, to their continuous growth.

With all reconsiderations, the basic but not most important thing for adult educators in Taiwan to contemplate is, perhaps, to reassess the role and function they should perform, and the ground upon which they base their authority. Thus, many questions and concerns may be raised, such as: How do adult educators go about advancing their adjustments to the increasingly fervent movement of adult education, and providing the relationship to help the public (as the potential learners) and society as a whole to make adjustments as well? This question actually amounts to the concerns that the author wished to raise in the study.

Concluding Comment

This study has examined two areas of educational thought of John Dewey and the Three Principles of the People. Through a systematic examination of the literature, the author identified the underlying assumptions embedded in the two areas of thought on the fundamental issues, and pointed out the similarities and differences as the result of making a comparison. However, to make a rational judgement and choice on which area of thought is the appropriate approach to adult education, or on how to integrate the two areas of thought, is not a simple task. It would require further careful investigation into the sociocultural factors and the existing situations of adult education in Taiwan.

Note: The helpful suggestions of Dr. Nancy Hagan, Dr. G.L. Carter and Mr. Fernando Manzo Ramas are greatly appreciated.

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A Comparative Analysis of Master's Degree Programs in Adult Education in English Speaking Canadian Universities

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This study analyses curricula in 14 master's degree programs in adult education in English speaking Canadian universities (hereafter called, "ESCU"). The purpose of the study was to find out what constitutes the body of knowledge of graduate study in adult education at the master's degree level and to isolate the philosophical as well as the theoretical underpinnings of the practice of adult education at that level, in ESCU.

Rationale

Although a substantial body of literature exists in support of the idea that there is a body of knowledge called adult education, there seems to be no agreement on a common body of knowledge that should comprise the curricula at the master's degree level in adult education. Evidently, debate on methods and curricula suitable for inclusion in a program of graduate study has been concerted and continuous (Brookfield, 1988). This study is a continuation of that debate. It proposes the thesis that in order to develop a philosophy of adult education that will provide a feeling of commonality and a sense of belonging among adult educators, at a global level, there is a need to understand, first, the various theories and philosophies that undergird the practice of adult education in various countries and that understanding is assumed to be gained through case studies, such as this one. Second, it is assumed that by understanding the differences in the philosophical and theoretical orientations and practices of various countries, a common philosophical or theoretical ground, at the global level might be found. In short, through case studies, we are bound to know what divides, and unites us most.

Methodology

Research Design Since the data needed for analysis were already documented by Wickett, Collins, McKay, and Plumb in their (1987) study, entitled, Adult Education Studies in Canada-1987: A Survey of University Programs and Faculty in Adult Continuing Education: and were also found in the university calendars, and departmental handbooks of the nine universities, that comprise the population, content analysis was appropriate as a method of inquiry for this study. As a method of inquiry, content analysis may be applied to any form of written communication; including books; newspapers, journals and written laws (Babbie, 1975; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1981).

Definition of the Population Nine ESCU were identified from the Wickett et al (1987) study. These were the universities of Alberta (UA), British Columbia (UBC), Calgary (UC), Dalhousie (DU), Guelph (UG), New Brunswick (UNB), St. Francis Xavier (SFXU), Saskatchewan (US) and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE).

Units of Analysis Five types of master's degree programs were identified from the population as constituting the units of analysis: 4 Master of Arts (M.A.); 1 Master of Adult Education (M.A.Ed.); 1 Master of Continuing Education (M.C.Ed); 7 Master of Education (M.Ed.); and 1 Master of Science (M.Sc.).

Validity of the Method The major weakness of content analysis as a method of enquiry is that, when data are coded by many people, the meaning of what constitutes a particular variable may differ from one person to another and renders the results unreliable (Babbie, 1975). This weakness was circumvented by having the researcher alone define the variables and do the coding. A committee of three professors at OISE acted as the panel of judges regarding the confirmation of the meanings of concepts used in the study.

Data Required Three units of observation were selected: entry requirements, program requirements and course content.

Clustering of Courses: Procedure First, a master list of the 138 courses offered at the master's degree level in adult and continuing education in ESCU was compiled from the Wickett et al study. The courses were then categorized into clusters. Courses were considered similar if they conveyed the same latent or manifest meaning. A cluster was formed by two or more similar courses from two or more universities in the population.

Findings

From the categorization of courses, 17 clusters and five unclassified courses emerged. The 17 clusters represent the areas of study in adult education at the master's degree level in ESCU. They are ranked from 1 to 17 from the most to the least offered area of study in ESCU:

1. Research
2. Understanding adult learning and psychology
3. Program planning and implementation of adult education
4. Facilitation of learning in adult education
5. Community and social development
6. Program administration and management
7. Continuing and extension education
8. Comparative studies in adult education
9. Concepts, principles, issues and philosophies in adult education
10. Physiological development and adult education
11. Evaluation in adult education
12. Human resources development
13. Historical aspects of adult education
14. Literacy
15. Group dynamics
16. Counselling in adult education and
17. Women's studies

Regarding the general philosophy of practice, course analyses showed the predominance of optional courses (117) over core courses (14), and recommended courses (7). The avalanche of optional courses in most programs reveals a liberal-democratic framework as the general underlying philosophy of the practice of adult education at the master's degree level in ESCU. This liberalism is further expressed in the methods of delivery of instruction; such as the allowance of independent and or individual study in five universities, and the provision of special topics in four universities, as options to be taken advantage of by students and professors in meeting their individual needs, and interests respectively.

Conceptually, the 14 master's degree programs in adult education in ESCU fall under a continuum of three approaches. On one end is a purely specialist approach; and at the other a purely generalist approach. In between are programs guided in part by specialist and generalist approaches. In a purely specialist approach model, students enrolled in a master's degree program in adult education in ESCU are exposed to the same curriculum. They do the same and an equal number of courses and fulfill an equal number of other program requirements, such as the writing of a thesis. The typical program espousing this model in ESCU is the

M.A.Ed. at St. Francis Xavier University. Contrariwise, in a purely generalist approach model, students in master's degree programs in ESCU are given a pool of courses from which they are allowed to pick those that they deem best meet their needs. No single course is taken compulsorily. The programs espousing this model in ESCU are three M. A. programs (at UBC, UC, and OISE); four M.Ed. programs (at UA, UC, UBC, and OISE). The partly specialist and partly generalist approach theory (though not necessarily divided evenly in a 50 percent proportion) is espoused by the M.Sc. program at the University of Guelph; the M.C.Ed. program at the University of Saskatchewan; by one M.A. program at Dalhousie University and three M.Ed. programs at Dalhousie University, the University of New Brunswick and the University of Saskatchewan.

Analysis of course descriptions revealed differences in the meaning of the term, "required". In some programs, it was used synonymously with compulsory, and in others, with the term recommended. An analysis of entry requirements revealed that the master's degree is regarded as a first degree of academic training in adult education in most ESCU. This is a unique position if compared to master's degree programs in other social sciences, for instance, in psychology and sociology, the master's degree is regarded as a second degree.

Analysis of program requirements revealed seven major differences.

1. There are differences in the number of courses to be completed between universities and programs. For example, in M. Ed. programs at the UNB a student may take from 7 to 12 half courses, compared to 10 to 12 half courses to be completed at OISE or UBC.
2. Comprehensive examinations are required in two M. Ed. programs and not required in five others.
3. A major paper or project is required in three and not in four M. Ed. programs.
4. A thesis is optional in three M. Ed. programs and not required in four others.
5. Writing a thesis or a project is required in the M. C. Ed. program but all students are required to take 10 half courses.
6. The M. Ed. programs are predominantly offered by course work and major paper, while the M.A. programs require course work and a thesis.
7. The writing of a comprehensive examination is required in only two departments UBC and OISE.

Conclusion and questions for Discussion

This study shows that the training of adult educators at the master's degree level in ESCU embraces three models: the specialist, partly specialist and generalist, and the generalist. If the master's degree program is the first degree, is it not reasonable to assume that the students need grounding in certain concepts and principles of the field of study of adult education? Can a case be made for a purely specialist or generalist approach?

Recommendations

1. Development of an area of study relating to men to balance the adult education understanding of the two genders;
2 To avoid ambiguity in course descriptions, the following terms would suffice: compulsory, recommended or optional.
3. There should be a basic knowledge attributable to anyone who holds a master's degree in adult education. This basic knowledge can, and should be agreed upon by the international community of adult educators at forums such as this conference.

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Adult Education's Potential Contribution to Understanding Innovative Managers: Self-Directed Learning, is it Essential for Innovative Managers?

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Innovation and an organizational response to change are critical concepts in todays rapidly changing world. Nowhere is this more true than in the area of management. Selecting personnel with the attributes which contribute to the successful management of organizations which must respond to change is important. The Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale (SDLRS) may provide a means by which the attributes of individuals can be evaluated to predict their ability to respond to change and the demand for innovation. To address this problem and introduce the SDLRS, this paper will review the need for innovative managers capable of responding to change using one USA and four European companies, discuss the SDLRS and its constructs, and compare its constructs with the characteristics of successful innovative managers.

Rapid change in marketing and business practices are topics of discussion in virtually every management organization today. An organization's ability to be innovative and respond rapidly to change is recognized as critical to company survival. "Innovation in organizational settings is variously defined as referring to: (a) adoption of work or production technologies new to the organization, or (b) changes in organizational structure or managerial practices, or (c) market introduction of the fruits of in house research and development activities (Udwadia 1990, p.66)." Each item on the list is in effect, change, whether internally derived or externally driven. In an organization, it is the people that must adjust and cope with change.

Background

Numerous recent articles have addressed the critical need of organizations to be capable of effectively responding to change. But what is difficult to assess is who it is that organizations should retain, nurture, or hire that are capable of responding effectively to change. Studies that identify the attributes of the innovative, creative manager have been conducted. As a result, we know that a certain level of education or a high IQ does not usually differentiate the creative from the less creative professionals within the same field. However, knowledge above a certain level is required. This can be thought of as a threshold effect. Likewise, while IQ is important above a certain level for mastery of a field, IQ is not correlated with creativity (Udwadia 1990). Personal characteristics associated with high creativity are: (a) A high degree of self-confidence and self-discipline. (b) Self-motivation was rated as the single most important personal quality that enhanced creativity. (c) Being self-driven, excited by the work itself, is important. (d) Enthusiasm. (e) Being attracted by the challenge of the problem. Additionally creative people respond to having a sense of working on something important and a belief in or commitment to the idea, were among the key personal qualities associated with creative work (Udwadia, 1990).

Ralph Stayer, CEO and owner of Johnsonville Sausages, provides an interesting insight into the importance of innovation and the willingness to learn. His first person account of the organizational, management, quality control, marketing, and strategic planning innovations he introduced into his company can be viewed as a detailed case study on personal innovation. Central to his thesis is the importance he placed on being willing to learn, plan, and implement change (Stayer, 1990). Over a ten year period he moved his company from an autocratic organizational structure, where he personally owned every problem and decision, to one incorporating a dispersion of responsibility among all the company's employees. In the process, the company expanded into new markets, increased profitability, raised the overall quality of products produced with fewer rejections, and enjoyed rapid growth.

One of the most difficult tasks for Stayer was to gain an appreciation for change and its relationship to learning. Ultimately he concluded, "Learning is change, and I keep learning and relearning that change is and needs to be continuous (1990, p. 79)." During the period of transition he came to appreciate that his job was to introduce change into his organization. He changed the promotion policy to reflect the importance of change by rewarding the employees that were best at "coaching" other employees to adopt an attitude of change. "But I've learned that change is the real job of every effective business leader because change is about the present and the future, not about the past. There is no end to change (Stayer 1990, p. 83)."

Corporations are also learning the importance of being innovative and able to adapt to change in the work place. In a study of six British manufacturing firms that were on the brink of imminent disaster and recovered to create sustained and profitable growth in four mature European industries, the ability to adapt and develop innovative strategies was critical (Stopford and Baden-Fuller 1990). Stopford and Baden-Fuller said "the decline of many firms in mature European industries has been caused by failure to adjust and innovate strategy continuously in a changing world (1990 p. 412)." They found that the successful companies, those that regained a position of strength in the market place, were those able to address change from a learning perspective. These "learning organizations" became central to a successful firm's ability to develop innovative strategies and adjust to rapidly changing business environments. Stopford and Baden-Fuller concluded that the six companies they used as a study sample were different from their unsuccessful competitors (1990)

> We compared our sample with some competitors who failed to rejuvenate and found they all had invested in new equipment and organizational changes. The differences appear to lie in the combination of thought and action, and the sequence and scope of the moves taken.... Like many trapped in the limitations of financially motivated turnarounds, they underplayed the importance of innovation in strategy and building organizations that are responsive from the top to bottom (Stopford and Baden Fuller 1990, p. 412).

Further reading of their report reveals that one of the failures of the unsuccessful companies was on the part of their management. While the successful companies had management that was able "to learn how to create" new approaches to old problems, the unsuccessful companies had management that could or would not learn (1990, p. 403). The unsuccessful companies were unable to "break out of the rigidities of the 'static' organization" and build "new skills and capabilities in 'learning' organizations." "By a 'learning' organization we mean one in which people have found ways of linking together and adapting all parts (Stopford and Baden-Fuller 1990, p. 403)." I underlined "people" in the original text to highlight the importance that having the right people must play in ensuring organizational success. In describing the people involved in the successful organizations, Stopford and Baden-Fuller talk of "quantum leaps in thinking. "This is a quality of mind that rejects the logic of incrementalism for defining a task, though clearly the actions had to be taken incrementally (1990, p. 413)."

The question becomes one of finding, "this quality of mind," those uniquely gifted people capable of becoming the innovative marketing managers and the captains of industry. Stayer, in moving his company to new heights of success, found that his original managers were unable to adapt and take responsibility. Ultimately, during his company's transition, he found it easier to 'fire' them, than retrain them.

The Construct of Self-Directed Learning

The construct, self-directed learning (SDL), is associated with adult education and has been closely identified with continuing education (Long, 1987). Although the term appears in the literature as early as 1957, it wasn't until the mid sixties that it was first studied as a construct. In 1961 Cyril O. Houle excited the educational community with his small volume titled "The Inquiring Mind." Houle's volume contained a series of lectures that he had given the previous year and can be summed up in the following quote from the books first chapter:

> Every man that rises above the common level has received two educations; the first from his teachers; the second, more personal and important, from himself. - Edward Gibbons 1923

The Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale (SDLRS) was developed by Lucy Guglielmino in 1977. This instrument is a 58 item self-report survey that uses a Likert scale and was designed to specifically measure the construct, "self-directed learning readiness" (Finestone, 1984 p. ii). Factor analysis of the instrument indicates the presence of eight factors in self-direction in learning: openness to learning opportunities, self-concept as an effective learner, initiative and independence in learning, informed acceptance of responsibility for one's own learning, love of learning, creativity, future orientation, and ability to use basic study skills and problem solving skills. These are all attributes that can be found in Stayer's first person account of his revitalization of his company.

Guglielmino developed the instrument using a Delphi technique. Part of the instructions given to the committee included these phrases: "it is the personal characteristics of the learner - including his attitudes, his values, and his abilities - which ultimately determine whether self-directed learning will take place in a given learning situation. The self-directed learner more often chooses or influences the learning objectives, activities, resources, priorities, and levels of energy expenditure than does the other-directed learner (Guglielmino, 1978, p. 34)."

The previous description then represents the theoretical constructs for the SDLRS. We know that there is an inherent gap between theory and research. That the two are never precisely the same (Blalock, 1964, pp. 3-26). It is therefore important to know if the SDLRS was able to approach its theoretical constructs, and more importantly for our purpose, whether it could be used to identify potential innovators and managers that respond well to change. What operational constructs are associated with those that score high on the instrument and are they similar to the attributes of the innovative manager that responds well to change?

Further along in Guglielmino's dissertation she gives a description derived from her study of those that score high on the SDLRS. It is interesting to read this description and place it in the context of a successful innovator such as Stayer.

> A highly self-directed learner based on the survey results, is one who exhibits initiative, independence, persistence in learning; one who accepts responsibility for his or her own learning and views problems as challenges, not obstacles; one who is capable of self-discipline and has a high degree of curiosity; one who has a strong desire to learn or change and is self-confident; one who is able to use basic study skills, organize his or her time, and set an appropriate pace of learning, and to develop a plan for completing work; one who enjoys learning and has a tendency to be goal-oriented (Guglielmino, 1978, p. 73).

The above description appears to be promising concerning the potential for using the SDLRS and management. From the operational description derived from actual survey results it can be assumed the attributes associated with SDL are very similar to the attributes associated with managers that have been highly effective at dealing with change.

Between 1966 and 1991 a total of 173 dissertations were conducted that included the notion of SDL. A total of 40 used the SDLRS (Long and Redding, 1991). Principally these efforts have focused on the attributes of a self-directed learner. The SDL has been described as goal oriented, flexible, inquisitive, learning oriented, adaptable, and capable of managing the selection, planning, implementation and evaluation of individual learning projects (Long, 1987; Redding, 1991). A number of studies have addressed the implications associated with the SDL scores achieved by managers. Validity and reliability have been repeatedly checked. The original form of the SDLRS had an internal consistency of .87 for the total 41 item scale as does the 58 item version (West and Bentley, 1990). Researchers, since the development of the SDLRS, have determined that the construct validity of the "total SDLRS score is positively related to measures of originality, creative experiences and achievements, and right hemispheric style of learning (West and Bentley, 1990, p. 159)."

Donald Roberts, in his 1986 dissertation, considered the implication of the relationship of the Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale (SDLRS) scores of managers and manager effectiveness. Roberts' findings showed that there was a relationship between SDLRS scores and the participants' management level, management performance rating, self-perceptions of creativity, problem solving ability, the degree of change the job requires, and educational level (Long and Redding, 1991).

Of particular interest, however, is Kathleen Dechant's 1989 dissertation that focused on managing change in the work place. The stated purpose of her dissertation was to examine "the nature and process of learning as defined by the literature and as experienced by corporate managers charged with undertaking assignments involving unusual or unprecedented change within their organizations." One of her major findings was that job assignments involving unprecedented or unusual change compel managers to engage in aggressive, self-directed learning (Long and Redding, 1991).

Other research efforts have demonstrated that positive correlations can be found between the level of job complexity and the autonomy associated with a profession and increasing levels of readiness for self-direction (Redding, 1990 & 1991). In a study that collected biographical data and included the completion of the SDLRS, Redding found a significant correlation between level of job complexity and individual SDLRS scores (1990). In retrospect, as important as job complexity is, other factors that appear similar to those associated with responding well to change and being able to act in an innovative manner were present in the job descriptions offered.

Borg (1989) discusses three forms that a construct can take. A theoretical construct is inferred from observed phenomena; a constitutively defined construct is defined by referring to other constructs. Finally, a construct can be operationally defined by "specifying the activities used to measure or manipulate it (p. 26)." The notion of the SDL can be considered a theoretical construct. Innovative manager, as a construct, can be constitutively defined by referring to the construct of SDL. The SDLRS provides an opportunity to operationally define an innovative manager and should be an instrument of considerable value in terms of identifying potential innovative managers.

As the most widely used instrument for determining a level of self direction in learning, Guglielmino's Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale (McCune, 1989, Long and Redding, 1991) is readily available for the purpose of conducting future studies. There are a large number of studies investigating the validity of this instrument and it's use in research on self-directed learning (McCune 1988 & 1989).

Management and Learning Research

Management reports point toward the need to couple management research with research in adult learning. Lyles (1990), in her agenda for management research, lists studies associated with innovation as among the two most important areas requiring future study. Peters (1990), in his article titled "Get Innovative or Get Dead" stresses the importance being innovative in the way management approaches problems. Referring to it as "Thinking in wholes" he says it means "learning about, acting upon, having access to more than one's own narrow arena (1990, p. 25). He describes this learning activity as being an "obsession of any number of organizational researchers (1990, p. 25)." Stayer (1990), in his report on his innovative approach to revitalizing his company consistently refers to the importance of learning and its impact on the organization (1990). Each of these papers call for research, and implications for research have a common element. That element is the need that the organization feels to change.

Change is almost an organizational survival reflex. American industry and American management is in the process of investing in itself. The forces that drive this effort are associated with organizational performance and effectiveness. The organization's need to learn and adapt is described by Lant with these words "the impetus for organizational change and adaptation is triggered by performance below aspiration level (1990, p. 149)." In other words, the organization feels that it has been less than successful and is looking to improve its performance. It is fortunate that adult educational research, through the use of an instrument such as the SDLRS, is available to lend insight into the personal characteristics of innovative managers, and in fact, may be able to identify them through the use of the SDLRS's predictive properties. However, it remains to be proven that the instrument in its current configuration is completely suitable for this purpose.

It is proposed that this research be conducted with marketing managers. It is hoped that, by limiting the focus of the sample populations, a higher percentage of truly innovative people will be found within the samples collected. Marketing management is a continuous process of monitoring the marketing environment and adapting to change (Kotler, 1988). Recent times have been marked by many sudden changes in market environments which Toffler describes as "Future Shock." Toffler further indicates that those most able to cope with "Future Shock" will be the "Third Wave" people which Redding has associated with SDLs (1990). SDLs in many ways represent Toffler's "Third Wave (Toffler, 1981)." Toffler talks about them when he says, "Third Wave people, by contrast, are more at ease in this bombardment of blips, they gulp huge amounts of information in short takes. Rather than trying to stuff the new modular data in Second Wave categories....they learn to make their own, to form their own 'strings'...(Toffler, 1981)." The successful innovators and creative managers that have been cited above fit the descriptors used to identify self-directed learners (Long 1987 & Houle, 1961). It seems appropriate to conduct research in management that evaluates the potential of the SDLRS to identify marketing managers that are able to deal effectively with rapid change.

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Adult Education Programming for Indigenous People: Justice Issues

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What are the responsibilities that must be assumed by educators if adult learners are going to be prepared to confront the realities of current colonialism and repair the damage done by previous schooling (Comeau & Santin, 1990). What are some of the major issues that must be faced if the adult learning experience is to be valuable? Educators have a responsibility to ask "why they are doing what they are doing. To think seriously or deeply about the purpose or consequences of education" (Silberman, 1970 cited in Elias, Merram, 1980, p. 123). How can we equip the scholars, whose minds we touch, to perceive the social reality as well as the contradictions in it, and deal critically with it (Freire, 1974). Current practices in educating adults lean toward education to alleviate problems rather than to challenge the systems and ideologies that perpetuate oppression. We need "critically oriented transformation pedagogy" (Collins, 1990) – an educational interaction using processes which will lead toward a just society.

Metaknowledge

To become truly literate – able to use a language to achieve your deepest dreams and goals – one must understand not just words, but culture, through language. Human behavior must be interpreted within a cultural framework to be clearly understood (Hanson & Eisenbise, 1982). Indian students have been at a deficit because they have a different world view and the behaviors that surround them in the majority culture do not make clear sense without a deeper understanding of the associated world view. Indian students' interpretation of both verbal and non-verbal communication in English is often left wanting, because they do not have the advantage of metaknowledge as members of the host culture do.

Guy (1990) believes that metaknowledge will not be gained through just the ordinary schooling process. The adult educator must look to creative, holistic methods to raise the host culture consciousness' of minority students. One positive way to develop methods to do this would be to put the question to aboriginal people. Begin by sharing the assumptions and facts that people already have, and then use their logical and creative ideas as well as those of educators to pursue a deeper knowing'.

"The recognition of differences ... is the first step toward the development of theory and research methods appropriate to the understanding of cultural diversity" (Korchin, 1980). Assisting Indian students to become better versed in understanding the dominant culture and to bring to a conscious, clear level an awareness of their own culture will benefit them in a variety of concrete ways. Generally, they will be far better equipped to deal with the cross-cultural lifestyle that is an ever-present part of their lives.

Historical Memory

An initial step educators can take in metaknowledge programming toward justice involves uncovering the realities of the past. The loss of historical memory is a prerequisite for dominance and colonization (Livingstone, 1987). History has not adequately recorded the tragic losses that Aboriginal people have had to deal with since contact'. Covering up the human suffering and the dynamics of human struggle allowed systems of domination to appear acceptable, and even made it difficult for the victims to strengthen their opposition to challenge the systems which invoked the suffering.

First nations peoples have been "confronted with the break-up of cultural values and structures" (Collins, 1990) that resulted in loss of identity, power, and their distinct society. The process of colonization has so marginalized these First Nations that they have become the Fourth World within Canada. This term refers to Indigenous peoples whose lands and culture have been overrun by dominant countries. It implies internal colonization of original peoples who subsist without political self-government. As adult education programs provide opportunities -- spaces -- to surface historical memory and begin the healing process, discussion will come back to one major topic -- Indigenous peoples' "realistic rage at dehumanizing forces that have oppressed them for so long" (Lewis, 1977, p. 442). This is a theme that will inevitably reoccur -- that of dissatisfaction with the impersonal order of a society that has not cared about or attended to the needs of some of its members.

Suppression and oppression have been systematically imposed. Mind, body, and spirit have been damaged and in many instances purposefully. People have tried to suppress the memories of these shames. Dominant methods have been through cultural means such as control of print, media, education and other systems that transmit culture and historical pictures. Subordinate methods have been through individual means such as alcohol and drug abuse, violence, self-denial and self-blame. As the historical memory is revitalized Elders must play a strong healing role (Red Horse, 1980). Their support and teachings are especially important in spiritual ways, but "spiritual suppression, of course, is not the only lesson elders can recapture" (p. 493).

True historical memory is vital for liberating minds and spirits (Livingstone, 1987). Knowledge is power, and people who have been powerless must seek the knowledge of their own history, and reinforce the notion that suffering matters. Adult educators can be the cutting edge of "unmasking the lies, myths, and distortions that constructed the basis for the dominant order" (p. xii), and thereby supporting the thrust toward justice that Aboriginal people all across Canada are beginning to recognize as a new beginning with old ways'. "When ... Indian people come to an experience in life, we are comfortable the stories have taken us through it before. Thus, ancient wisdom helps in the decision-making and learning today" (Colorado, 1988).

Participation Toward More Just Pedagogy

It is difficult to make changes in our methods of education. Our society generally expends a lot of energy in maintaining the status quo. As Ryan (1971) points out if the poor, the illiterate, the disabled, the oppressed are labelled as social problems they are placed outside the boundaries of normal. These deviators from the norm are therefore failures. Those who accept this can ignore relevant factors such as unequal distribution of wealth, inequality of power, ethnic and racial group conflict, and social stratification. The distressed and disinherented are redefined so that the majority may retain their comfortable morality. Educators need to move toward processes that are not vested in maintaining the status quo (Weiler, 1988) and to see adult education move beyond the classroom to community and nation.

Cultural Empowerment

To help counteract the powerlessness and poverty of Indians, and the racism and colonialism they contend with, adult educational programming should be synonymous with development. With assistance from development educators who can offer "consciousness-raising education, people can collectively discover their potential..." (De, 1978). Freire (1974) has the conviction that every human being, no matter how submerged in the "culture of silence", has the capability of looking critically at their world. Provided with the right tools, Freire believes people can gradually perceive their personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of their own perception of that reality and deal critically with it.

Cultural power creates the capacity for social groups to share the core beliefs and practices among themselves and society generally (Therborn, 1980 cited in Livingstone, 1987). The cultural power of Indian people has been battered through the process of colonization. To regain cultural power and self-direction subordinated people must find their common base, their common knowledge and their common issues. They need to mutually understand how different social groups impact on their reality.

Empowerment becomes a possibility for educators to initiate, through establishing programs conducive to transformative thinking and action, or conscientization (Freire, 1970). Conscientization is the process whereby our thoughts, experiences and awareness move from "primary consciousness" to "critical consciousness". They become less objective and more subjective (Collins, 1977). The production of subjectivities is seen as a central education issue (Livingstone, 1987; Weiler, 1988). Conscientization develops personal freedom which then supports a commitment to transforming social reality.

This concept of conscientization includes various approaches to education and development including praxis, problem-posing, dialogue learning and peer group interaction. Praxis is the term Freire (1970) coined to indicate the interactive interdependence of reflection and action to transform the exploitive nature of our world. Praxis is action for liberation which initiates through reflective thought (Collins, 1977). Through problem-posing, the adult educator can explore the students and the society in which they live. As issues are critically examined the "signs and symbols of the society which exploits them are challenged" (p. 1).

In the process of posing questions to adult learners the main tool is dialogue. This exchange of ideas where everyone's opinion is sought and everyone's input is seen as important imparts the belief that subjectivity and experience are a central focus in developing critical pedagogy. It is similar to the political concept of traditional Indians known as the caucus. "The caucus permits discussion of an issue without necessitating a yea or nay vote ..." (Weatherford, 1988, p. 145). The Indian caucus became an important building block of current democracy. Its congruence with adult education methods which promote dialogue, peer-group sharing and critical thinking is vitally important.

Dialogue and problem-posing encourage a critiquing approach which is "a form of practical learning that involves listening to the experiences of others, promoting a capacity for self-criticism, and using such criticism as the basis for developing programmatic discourse" (Livingstone, 1987, p. xii). Dialogue is contextualized around liberation issues and links the "language of critique" and the "language of possibility".

A pervasive notion has been rampant in society that an elite few are the "thinkers" and the multitudes are the "doers" (Collins, 1977). This idea is one of the invisible barriers that reinforces the class system and ultimately encumbers all. Indian people have perhaps been burdened with an even greater yoke. Through the process of colonization and oppression many have been stripped of the role of both thinker and doer. Therein lies a key responsibility of educators of Indian people – to create programs in which praxis, the marriage of thinking and doing, can become a chosen reality. The embracing of these educational approaches can help develop in students "an enhanced sense of self-respect and the understanding that they have the right to change their world in ways they deem important (Buckley & Carriere, 1988).

Participatory Research

One method which facilitates this transition is participatory research (Barndt, 1981). This process directly involves people in research about themselves. Ultimately, the shared examination of particular issues leads to critical analysis and mutually agreed upon action. It is possible to apply this ideology in organizations, classrooms, community groups, et. al. In fact, one of the criticisms participatory research has been faced with is that it is really "just" community development. Those of us who choose to incorporate it into our style should feel no need to defend that criticism. What better reason for doing research than the development of people, communities, society?

To suggest that research can be participatory -- that is can be done by ordinary people -- makes some people uncomfortable. It implies the issues to be researched will be more central to their survival (and therefore likely political); it implies that experts are not always needed; it implies that the collective power of people evaluating their own social realities might lead to change of the oppressive factors in that reality. It is contrary to our socialization and training where research is concerned -- for it is collective and cooperative, rather than individual and competitive.

Participatory research values community action taken by the people based on the production of their own knowledge (Rahman, 1984). It presupposes collective dialogue and analysis prior to thoughtful, collective action. Intrinsic to the process of participatory research, is learning. "The process is as important as the end result" (Romanic, 1990). It is a process of self-examination, community examination, environment setting conducive to learning, problem-solving, analysis and planning. It may include many forms of data collection from quantitative when hard data is vital, to interviews, to surveys. The process is driven by the participatory commitment. The belief that many minds, many memories, many men, women and children can together produce more holistic, thorough and relevant results than dominators or hierarchically focused leaders is the foundation of participatory research.

The researcher(s) who may initiate projects must be committed to the empowerment of all those involved and all those who may be affected by the process (Hall, 1984). This process calls for the role of learner and facilitator who will support and encourage the development of shared leadership. "Both the framework and methods of participatory research suggests its suitability as a bicultural ... synthesizer" (Colorado, 1988). Amongst Indian people the shared examination of social problems promotes: the acquisition of rights that have been denied them; a critical understanding of social problems; achievement of goals meaningful to the community; the recollection of historical memory; the validation of people's experience and knowledge; the building of community commitment at all levels; self determination; a larger, more encompassing truth; and, the recognition of not only intellectual rationality, but spirit, commitment, good sense, intuition and subjectivity.

Conclusion: Creating and Connecting Just Communities

Most Indian communities are grappling with issues such as racism, sexism and agism. These issues often surface as unemployment, poverty, and violence. These societal problems need to be clearly understood at theoretical, analytical and action based levels by adult managers/programmers in order to make the pedagogical more political. This broader notion of schooling encourages the development of radical pedagogical theory which examines how various public systems shape the human conditions of dominance and struggle (Livingstone, 1987). A broader community definition of education provides the foundation to create a political thrust in which the focus is on democratic systems permeated by justice. Educators can participate in the broadening and deepening of the understanding of oppression and emancipation.

Each time Indian adult learners enter a classroom they enter a potential community. To see justice as a foundational tenet in pedagogy for Indian adults, 'classroom communities' must be connected to other communities -- the organizational, the geographical, the global community -- sharing the strengths and visions of each to confront oppression and seek justice.

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Adult Education and Cultural Pluralism: Is There a Need for Assessment of Cultural Competency in Higher Education?

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With College student bodies becoming more diverse, there is an increasing tendency to rely on administrators and faculty to set the tone of the campus milieu such that the various races and ethnic groups not only tolerate, but respect each other, and thereby insure a peaceful setting for the pursuit of higher learning. However, impacting upon institutional settings are statistics that indicate that the majority population is becoming the minority. Moreover, by the year 2000, fifty-three major cities in the U.S. will have majority populations composed of African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians, and the work force may approach 70% African-American and Hispanic (Jones, Terrell, & Duggar, 1991).

The dilemma is that the ability of administrators and faculty to orchestrate campus conditions to accommodate a multicultural and/or multinational student body has rarely, if ever, been established. The question is whether there is a level of cultural competence among administrators and faculty that is adequate for the establishment of an amicable multicultural campus milieu.

Definitions

The background of the dilemma is such that there is a need to define several terms for the sake of clarity. They are: competency, culture, cultural competency, multicultural activity, multi-cultural curriculum. Although competency can be inferred from behavior, seldom is there a one to one correspondence. In this paper, competency and behavior are not equivalent. Competency is causally related to effective behavior and referenced to external performance criteria (Klemp, 1979), while behavior is the response to the environment (Webster, 1976). If, however, competency is causally related to effective performance, then the development of cultural competency should lead to increased efficacy in interracial and intercultural understanding.

For the purposes of this paper, culture will be considered to be those group social activities that are learned, shared and transmitted. It is whatever one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to one's group members. Culture in this sense is not a material phenomenon. It does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. Rather, it is the organization of these things.

I use Cross, Friesen, Mason, and Rider's (1988) definition of cultural competency for individuals, and Cross', (1988) definition of cultural competency as found among organizational structures. Cross, et al. define cultural competency for individuals as the effectiveness of one's work with someone of a different ethnicity, culture, or race. Cross (1988) defines organizational cultural competency as having five components: the importance of culture, the assessment of cross-cultural relations, vigilance toward the dynamics that result from cultural differences, the expansion of cultural knowledge, and the adaptation of services to meet culturally unique needs at all levels.

A multicultural activity is an activity that develops positive and productive interaction among people of diverse cultural groups. While a multicultural curriculum is one that values diversity, and builds respect for humans of all cultures.

Rationale

It seems that cultural, racial, and ethnic intolerance is increasingly demonstrated across America, at predominantly white-attended colleges. Nancy Gibbs wrote an article whose title is as telling as is the information contained therein. The title is, "Bigots in the Ivory Tower: An Alarming Rise in Hatred Roils U.S. Campuses. " She said, "fractured civility...seems a tepid description of campus behavior that sometimes borders on the barbarous." This dilemma has been assessed by the human relations director at the University of Massachusetts--Drant Ingles. He claims that the heart of the problem for many large campuses is that a majority of white students have grown up in suburban areas or small communities and have never had a positive experience with minorities. On the other hand, when sorting out the variables inherent in this dilemma, one finds that history has taught the American-born minorities--the African-Americans, the Hispanics, and the American Indians--to mistrust whites. And among these three groups, there is not only intergroup, but intragroup friction, as well. Unfortunately, there seems to be no concerted effort to bring races and ethnic groups together. Victor Okafor (1991) speaks of racism as a creation of the Western world, and maintains that it weakened humanity.

Clearly, Okafor is correct. Racism is pervasive in the United States and not only serves as an impediment to those who suffer under its sway, but generates scholarship that lacks historical and conceptual authenticity, because it is rooted in the mythology of white supremacy (Asante, 1987). It serves to maintain a kind of apartheid which operates on the physical and psychological levels. I believe that not only do students struggle with the dilemma of coming from monocultural backgrounds into multicultural campus settings, but so do administrators and faculty, as well.

Therefore, the problem seems to be the cultural incompetence of administration and faculty, since institutions of higher education rely on these professionals to establish a smoothly operating multicultural campus milieu, while many of these professionals are no more proficient at it than are the students they serve. In fact, Smith (1989) posed a profound question in a government report titled: The Challenge of Diversity. First he acknowledged the legitimacy of the concern regarding whether students are properly prepared for learning upon entering institutions of learning, then he asked whether institutions of learning are prepared for diversity. Furthermore, undermining any effort to achieve a well operating multicultural educational environment are the off-campus social and political leaders who encourage each racial and cultural group to retreat into enclaves of its own tribal unit.

Discussion

It is obvious that in the best interest of the U. S., on the whole, and of college and university campus communities within the U.S., in particular, an effort must be made to enhance the cultural sensitivity and cultural competence of administrators and faculty. Ebbers and Henry (1990) said that they and many other professionals feel that it is time for administrators and faculty from the departments of student affairs and academic affairs to "become jointly involved with evaluating the cultural competence of campus programs and personnel." Moreover, the field of adult education should be in the vanguard, since a concerted effort must be put forth in the reeducation of these professionals, such that they become more inclusive of cultures different from their own. In fact, their reeducation must include efforts to identify great people of all ethnic backgrounds who have contributed to the present civilization.

This problem requires the institution of pre-service and in-service programs which include activities, and encourage attitudes that acknowledge as positive, group differences based on race and ethnicity. This approach to solving the predicament should not cause much difficulty, since adult education is multidisciplinarian by nature, and one of its component areas of inquiry is that of social action. On the other hand, this reeducation process may also be considered human resource development (HRD).

The solution seems to lie in the reeducation of Administrators and faculty members. This can be accomplished through social action programming by adult education HRD specialists, as already discussed. As we move towards the 21st century, this concept offers a new direction for both the social action and the human resource development components of adult education.

E.E. DuBois refers to the HRD specialist as "cognizant of the dynamics of human behavior and the workings of organizations" (Brookfield, 1986). Since the need to assess cultural competency levels of administrators and faculty in higher education has been established by Smith (1989); Ebbers and Henry (1990); Jones, et al. (1991); and other educational researchers, it may behoove adult education HRD specialists to engage in social action programming focused on cultural competency issues. This could well be the wave of the future.

One suggestion for social action programming to enhance cultural competency is to use Bennett's (1986) suggestion, and focus on the following four concerns: the development of historical perspectives and cultural consciousness, the development of (inter)cultural competence, the reduction of racism and ethnic prejudice and discrimination, and the development of social action skills. He contends that a multicultural curriculum tends to address the institution's hidden agenda, and lays bare those things that are understood, but are not necessarily codified, and available for scrutiny.

Another suggestion for social action programming is to use some ideas from either or both of the following protest movements: the Sarvodaya movement of India, and/or the Conscientization movement of Brazil. Zachariah (1988) addresses both in a book titled, Revolution through Reform: A Comparison of Sarvodava and Conscientization. Significantly, Sarvodaya means " the rising of all, " and conscientization is defined by Schipani (1984) to mean the "process in which people achieve a deepening awareness, both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and their capacity to transform that reality." He then says, "it implies a critical self-insertion and praxis understood as the dialectic relationship action-reflection."

Conclusion

In sum, it seems that students arrive on college campuses with the deep-seated prejudices and hatreds that abound in the larger society, in the U.S. Prior to their arrival, they have lived and interacted, on the whole, with people similar to themselves. This similarity includes value systems, life styles, and career and social expectations. The problem begins when these monocultural individuals are placed in multicultural college campus communities. The dilemma is that administrators and faculty members are expected to solve problems that are based on social issues that remain unresolved in the larger society. Moreover these professionals usually come from monocultural backgrounds similar to those of the student body, and have no expertise in solving multicultural problems.

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APPENDIX 2

The Saskatchewan Resolution

"THE SASKATCHEWAN RESOLUTION"

PROPOSAL TO THE PUBLICATIONS STANDING SERVICE UNIT OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

The 1991 Black Book[1], endorsed by the Commission of Professors of Adult Education, claims to represent the whole field of adult education. However, it is a book that reproduces the status quo and silences the voices that would challenge that perspective. These silenced voices represent the future of the field.

Therefore, the Adult Education Research Conference requests that the Publications Standing Service Unit of the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education, in consultation with the feminist caucus of the Adult Education Research Conference, develop a process for publishing a book to reflect these voices. Further, the Adult Education Research Conference requests that the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education begin negotiation with Jossey-Bass (and/or other appropriate publisher) to complete their representation of the field.

This motion was made from the floor, at the AERC business meeting and was supported by the great majority of participants in an open vote.

Saturday, May 16, 1992.

[1] Peters, J.M., Jarvis, P., & Associates (Eds.) (1991). Adult education: Evolution and achievements in a developing field of study. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.